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ABSTRACT

This volume reports on six research projects undertaken by the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) to improve the education and social integration of disadvantaged youth in Israel. Described and discussed are the following: (1) the Home Instruction Program for Pre-School Youngsters (HIPPY): (2) an experiment in elementary school integration in Nachlaot: (3) case studies of several experimental summer camps: (4) the role of vocational education in manpower preparation and social integration: and (5) a comparative case study of ethnic integration in Israel and France. Each project is described in terms of its objectives, methodologies, and effectiveness. The principal population to which the projects were directed consists of young people of Afro-Asian (Sephardic) origin. (EB)

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RESEARCH IN ACTION

Prepared and Written
for
The NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education
by
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The publication of this book is an appropriate occasion to thank the partners that founded and continue to develop and support the NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the National Council of Jewish Women, U.S.A. It is a tribute to their vision and commitment that the Institute has been able to make a significant contribution to education in Israel.

The NCJW Research Institute has published the findings of specific projects in books, monographs and research reports. We have received many requests during the years to bring the results of our work to the wider public. Our Board of Directors considered this matter and decided to publish a volume that would describe and interpret a number of our most important projects. This decision was able to be acted upon due to the generosity of the following dedicated members of the National Council of Jewish Women and, in some cases, their spouses, and we are very grateful to them for their contribution:

Marice Halper
Esther R. Landa
Shirley and Harold Leviton
Barbara A. and Morton L. Mandel
Eleanor and Earl Marvin
Ann and Adolf Robison
Harriet and William Rosenthal
Rosetta and Jules Standig

Research in Action was written with the constant encouragement and direction of Chaim Adler and reflects his profound commitment to the Institute and its goals. As always, he gave of his time more than generously whenever it was necessary.

We are fortunate that Henry Green was willing to share the difficult assignment of preparing this volume in cooperation with the researchers of the Institute. It was a pleasure working with him. I would also like to thank Doris Lutati for her role in helping to get the manuscript ready and Lorraine Gastwirt for her critical reading of the text.

Jane Cohen
Assistant Director,
The NCJW Research Institute
for Innovation in Education

FOREWORD

A Message from the National Council of Jewish Woman, U.S.A.

The involvement of the National Council of Jewish Women in education in Israel reflects the organization's long history of concern for the education and welfare of disadvantaged children and youth. Since the 1890's, when NCJW women fought for child labor laws, set up neighborhood Sabbath schools, and greeted young immigrants arriving from Europe with aid and comfort, the National Council of Jewish Women has developed scores of innovative and comprehensive programs to better the quality of life for young people, both in the United States and abroad.

NCJW's impact on education and social welfare in Israel began in 1947 with a grant to the then Department of Education of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem to strengthen its training program for secondary school teachers and grew to include more than twenty years of support for the School of Education.

The birth of the State of Israel provided NCJW with a very special focus for its attention, and the organization sought ways in which it could further help in the country's development. Through the Fellowship Program, introduced in 1948, NCJW provided over 250 grants for graduate study in the United States to social workers and educators. The alumni of this program, which was in existence for over a quarter of a century, have helped build Israel's network of educational and social welfare services, and today hold key positions in the country's ministries, municipalities, universities, schools and agencies.

In another effort to help better the quality of education in Israel, NCJW, in 1963, provided the funds to build the Hebrew University High School. NCJW's six-year Experimental Project, conducted at HUHS from 1966-72, has served as a model for raising the academic performance of disadvantaged junior and high school students.

But the seed for NCJW's most comprehensive project in Israel was planted in 1967. Immediately following the Six-Day War, fifteen of us traveled to Israel to look into ways in which our organization could further aid the country in its search for solutions to its myriad educational problems. Both the late Prime Minister Levi Eshkol and the late Minister of Education Zalman Aranne emphasized to our delegation that Israel's most pressing need was to find ways in which to bridge the cultural and educational gap between the "have's" and the "have-not's," between those Jews of European origin and those from African and Asian backgrounds.

Nearly one hundred plans for action were suggested to us; all were well conceived and had great merit. Yet one proposal stood out from among the others in that it reflected not only NCJW's general interest in education, but the organization's specific concern with educating the disadvantaged and with school integration. As a result of this proposal, presented by Professor Seymour Fox, NCJW established a research center at the School of Education of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1968, an institute which would be dedicated to designing, implementing and evaluating educational methods, materials and resources aimed at facilitating the integration of Israel's disadvantaged children and youth into the mainstream of the country's society. Since 1971, the NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education has been a permanent and integral part of the Hebrew University, and has developed numerous programs several of which are now being implemented throughout the country.

The awareness that the United States and Israel share problems regarding education and integration and the desire to link the work of both countries brought about what was to be the first in a series of educational exchanges between American and Israeli educators and policy-makers. Mr. Aharon Yadlin, then Israel's Minister of Education and Culture, and a number of scholars from the Hebrew University, some of whom were researchers in the Institute, came to the United States in 1976 to meet their American counterparts including the U.S. Commissioner of Education, Dr. Terrel H. Bell. This first series of Colloquia was sponsored by NCJW and the NCJW Research Institute in cooperation with the United States Office of Education, Harvard University, the University of Chicago, the University of California at Los Angeles and Teachers College, Columbia University. These Colloquia were found to be so fruitful for all involved that, in January of 1978, a second exchange, the Marcus Conference on the Disadvantaged, was held in the United States, with the participation of the U.S. Commissioner of Education, Dr. Ernest L. Boyer.

Just two months after the signing of the historic United States-Israel Memorandum of Understanding on Education in November, 1978, a groups of American educators and policy-makers came to Israel for the United States-Israel Educational Policy Colloquium. Commissioner Boyer and Dr. Patricia A. Graham, Director of the National Institute of Education and Zevulun Hammer, Minister of Education and Culture, headed their respective delegations. This first exchange of ideas, plans and programs under the terms of the new agreement, was co-sponsored by the United States Office of Education, the Ministry of Education and Culture and the NCJW Research Institute.

As with the conferences, this volume proposes to bring some of the NCJW Research Institute findings to a wide audience. It is our expectation that school administrators, teachers and members of boards of education and institutions of higher learning will add these insights to their own, in their efforts to educate the disadvantaged in the United States and elsewhere.

Thus is fulfilled the faith which was proclaimed over 85 years ago by the founders of the National Council of Jewish Women.

We, of NCJW, deeply appreciate the efforts of the staff of the Research Institute for their contribution to education for the disadvantaged. We welcome as well the opportunity to become more fully acquainted with the innovative strides being made in education in Israel today through the publication of this book.

Esther R. Landa
National President
National Council of Jewish Women, U.S.A.

February 1, 1979

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PREFACE

I am sure the reader will permit me some personal remarks as a preface to this book. I turned to the social sciences some thirty years ago, bringing with me the tradition and ethos of the Israeli Youth Movement; that is, the ethos of service to the community, of being involved, of caring about issues that demand attention and change. It is perhaps because of the influence of my late father that my life took the direction it did. Although he was an excellent physician specializing in internal medicine and neurology, he devoted his entire professional life to the field of rehabilitation after he arrived in Israel at the age of 39. The Institute which I have had the privilege of directing for the past years has given me the rare opportunity of fulfilling a personal dream close to the ideal that he represents to me. It presents me with the opportunity and the challenge of bringing my professional training to bear on the problems faced by the disadvantaged of the Israeli population and trying to alleviate them through education.

I conceive of education in a broad sense: it is the sum total of the experiences of a young person in his community and in his school and family, and these experiences should yield him the tools to reach maturity and become a happy and useful citizen, irrespective of his origin and background. It was thus natural for me that our Institute be involved in searching for ways to intervene in disadvantaged families so as to help them improve their educational functioning. I encouraged our research into schools and schooling and welcomed our involvement with integrated education (which has social implications beyond its potential educational impact). I take pride in having introduced into the span of our research work the realm of informal, out-of-school education, which in terms of disadvantaged youngsters may at times well be an alternative to formal schooling. Finally, I have encouraged all attempts to approach policy matters systematically, because I am convinced that innovative ideas or findings must be translated into policy terms if they are to have an impact. This is essentially a sociologist's concept of education and its role in society, and much of the work of the NCJW Research Institute has been formulated with this conceptual *Weltanschauung* in mind.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my sincerest appreciation in the name of the NCJW Research Institute and personally to the Hebrew University, to its School of Education and the National Council of Jewish Women for having made our work possible. Of course, I must also thank the team of researchers, who are the essence of the Institute, with whom I have had the great pleasure to collaborate.

Chaim Adler
Director,
The NCJW Research Institute
for Innovation in Education

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The NCJW Research Institute for Innovation, a part of the School of Education of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, is dedicated to dealing with the education of the culturally disadvantaged sector of the Israeli population. It is a place where researchers have the opportunity to try and develop theories and experiment with innovative ideas which have the potential to affect educational reality. It is a place which has committed itself to deal with the implementation of experiments in the field, even after the required research reports have been completed. It is a place where a lively dialogue between theoreticians and practitioners, between scholars and policy-makers, and between researchers themselves is continually carried on. Seminars and conferences provide the more formal forum for this communication, both on a local and international scale, and the fact that the Institute is part of a university makes its possible for people of different disciplines to meet easily to discuss problems of mutual interest.

As one of the only institutes in Israel which concentrates exclusively on the problems of education of the disadvantaged, the NCJW Research Institute has become a center of thinking in the area, and, as such, its staff often acts as advisors to those policy-making bodies which decide upon the direction and future of education in the field. Moreover, almost all of its research work is undertaken in close cooperation with the Ministry of Education, so that the implementation of experimental projects, if they are proved successful, will be as effective and smooth as possible, having been planned from the outset with those people who will be responsible for them. It is perhaps this very combination of an academic concentration and close contact with educational reality in the field which makes the Institute's work unique and accounts for whatever impact it has had.

In the following chapters of *Research in Action*, the story of six research projects undertaken by the NCJW Research Institute is told, each one presenting a different theoretical or methodological approach. Each chapter must be understood as a unit in itself, with the researcher's theoretical principles, his research techniques, and his different beliefs about education informing his work and the structure and style of the chapter. What unifies the book is the sense of caring, the commitment to solving what is one of Israel's most serious domestic problems: the existence of groups within its population which are definable often along the lines of ethnic origin and social class, many of whose members have not been successful in becoming integrated into the mainstream of Israeli society. If there is a consensus that education can be a key to changing this situation, then it becomes imperative to try to make it as effective as possible for these culturally disadvantaged groups.

What is the origin and history of the so-called "second Israel?"* What kinds of problems do these groups face and why? When the State was established, mass immigration from all countries was very much encouraged. The Jewish population tripled in the first twelve years (see Table One) as the Law of Return enabled Jews from anywhere in the world to come to Israel, receive the benefits given by the State to immigrants, and become citizens immediately. More than half of these new immigrants came from the Islamic countries of the Middle East and North Africa and very often reflected the social conditions and cultural traditions of the countries from which they came.** The education in these societies was usually insufficient so that many of the immigrants had fewer than six years of schooling, and some, particularly women, were illiterate. They had mostly large families, little or no vocational training, and no capital. They were thus hampered upon entry into Israeli society, not only by the expected crisis of dislocation but also by their own *a priori* disadvantages.

The new State was beset concomitantly by the overwhelming problems common to developing countries and some specific to Israel. In 1958 there were only 650,000 Jewish citizens. During the early years of statehood, Israel was forced to expend a great proportion of its limited resources for defense. Few industries existed and there was little possibility to develop the economy. Because both raw materials and investment capital were lacking, productivity was very low and food and clothes were rationed. In consequence, "transit camps" had to be established for new immigrants who arrived in large numbers. In spite of these problems, the government managed to create jobs for the new immigrants and to provide health care and education, an enormous effort for the young country which was struggling to maintain itself both domestically and in the face of the hostility of its neighbors.

The Afro-Asian immigrants themselves were also overwhelmed by the strangeness of their new country and the western-style institutions of

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* Without entering into a discussion of the general history of Sephardic or Eastern Jewry, it is necessary to say that there are a number of well-established families of this origin who have lived for generations in Israel and elsewhere. Consequently, it should be noted that, although most of the disadvantaged population is of Afro-Asian origin, by no means are all Jews of this origin disadvantaged.

** The term "Afro-Asian" is applied to this group of Jews whose countries of origin include Morocco, Tangier, Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, Turkey, Iraq, Yemen and Iran. "European-American" is the term used for Jews who immigrated from Europe and from the Americas.

Table One*
Jewish Immigration by Continent of Birth

Year	Africa/Asia		Europe/North America		Total	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
1919-1948	10.4	(44,809)	89.6	(385,066)	100.0	(429,875)
1948-1951	49.6	(330,986)	50.4	(336,623)	100.0	(667,609)
1952-1954	76.0	(41,051)	24.0	(12,982)	100.0	(54,033)
1955-1957	68.3	(112,185)	31.7	(52,138)	100.0	(164,323)
1958-1960	36.3	(27,369)	63.7	(48,106)	100.0	(75,475)
1961-1964	60.0	(136,570)	40.0	(91,462)	100.0	(228,032)
1965-1969	50.7	(60,185)	49.3	(58,589)	100.0	(118,774)
1970-1974	18.3	(40,342)	81.7	(180,383)	100.0	(220,725)
1975-1977	13.8	(8,463)	86.2	(52,729)	100.0	(61,192)

* Central Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Israel*, No. 20 (1978), p. 137.

the early pioneers of the Yishuv.* Although lacking a certain sophistication, they nonetheless had nurtured many expectations for their future lives in the new State. These expectations came from several sources, one of them rooted in Judaism. Most of the Afro-Asian Jews were quite religious and had literally prayed all their lives to come to Israel, the "land of milk and honey" promised to the Biblical fathers of the nation. They had great faith that a better life was awaiting them. Secondly, many of them had been convinced to come by Israelis who had been sent to try and encourage immigration to the new State, and, in their eagerness, had painted a very optimistic picture of life in the Jewish homeland. Apart from their expectations, many of these immigrants were forced to leave their possessions behind because of emerging nationalist Arab power, which made it even harder to begin anew. Their absorption, therefore, involved material and psychological problems much more serious than those of immigrants from the more developed western countries.

Moreover, some of the government policies concerning immigrants seem to have been insensitive to the special needs of the Afro-Asians (see chapter on "Ethnic Integration in Israel" for further discussion about this issue). In the area of housing, for instance, apartments were uniformly constructed with two bedrooms, which made no allowance for the existence of large families. This immediately created unequal living conditions within the population. The policy of "population dispersion" is another example. It was instituted because of the need to develop and populate outlying areas and, though it may have been necessary for the country, it was essentially detrimental to Afro-Asian immigrants. This policy resulted in a new form of settlement called the "development town" which, because of its geographical location, was usually on the fringe of Israel's political and industrial life. These towns became populated almost exclusively by Afro-Asian immigrants.* The available jobs there were chiefly manual or technological and did not suit the immigrants' training or expectations. A number of them had originally been tailors, carpenters or shoemakers, for instance, but the supply of such artisans in the development town quickly exceeded the demand, and it was difficult for them to learn new skills, particularly in the technological area, because of their lack of formal education. Occupational mobility was thus minimal, and there was resultant frustration and, in a few cases, unemployment.

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* *Yishuv:* the pre-State Jewish community of Palestine.

Agricultural settlements developed in much the same way. Indeed the policy of settling new immigrants in rural areas preceded the "population dispersion" policy. It was very much in accordance with the Zionist ideology of "returning to the land," and was one of the least expensive ways of absorbing families. All the early villages, created with the idea of integrating immigrants from different countries, cultures and traditions, disbanded eventually, however, because they did not succeed in becoming viable and harmonious units. Thus it seemed preferable to send people of similar backgrounds to such settlements who would feel comfortable and get along easily with each other. The result was again many villages and *moshavim*** whose population was entirely of Afro-Asian origin.

Other Afro-Asian immigrants, when given the option of living in a development town with the benefit of government assistance, or taking their chances independently in the cities without it, chose the latter, mainly because of their somewhat unrealistic expectations of immediate financial success. They had to compete there, though, with the existing well-trained labor force and the Western immigrants, who received preference by virtue of their skills and often because of their connections with family and friends who helped them.

Consequently, neighborhoods with a heavy concentration of Afro-Asian Jews and many of the characteristics of slums began to grow up in the cities as well. Low-status jobs or, in some cases, partial unemployment and a low level of educational achievement began to typify the Afro-Asian immigrant throughout Israel. One result of this was that ethnic origin and social class became highly correlated.* Another was that there arose the kind of patterns of prejudice which are destructive in a democratic society. This meant that there were stereotypical images of different groups within the population which were accompanied by a series of either negative or positive expectations. This affected people's behavior and relationships in many areas of life, some of the effects of which will be described in the following chapters.

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* One of the major criteria for settling a new immigrant either in an established city or a development town was the extent of his vocational or educational training, which among immigrants of Eastern origin was, as noted, minimal.

** A moshav is an agricultural settlement which is cooperative economically and in some other areas, but where the individual family is an independent unit with responsibility for its own day-to-day needs.

Where the large majority of the population in any one place was disadvantaged, educational standards were also affected. Both because of the limited resources of the State and the difficulty involved in educating children whose parents had had no experience with a modern educational system, schools in these areas were not of high quality. Experienced and certified teachers were often unwilling to teach in them, sometimes because of geographical distance, and sometimes because the schools had the reputation of having difficult disciplinary problems and students neither capable of nor interested in learning.

According to some scholars, what characterizes the disadvantaged student in the classroom is essentially the difficulty he has in dealing with the intellectual content which forms the basis of academic pursuit. They believe that this is a result of certain environmental and cultural conditions.** The conditions found in the disadvantaged home are such that the young child does not receive the kind of experience and intellectual stimulation necessary for the normal development of cognitive functions. This is true in part because of poverty, the strain involved in raising large families and the low educational level of parents. In general, the individual child receives little attention (mainly because there is almost always a baby recently born and a great many household chores to be completed); there are few or no books and games in the home, and the quality of verbal interchange and spontaneous play among family members is of a nature that it does not prepare the child adequately for the kinds of tasks he will have to deal with in school. In addition, parents who have had little schooling themselves are often at a loss about how to help their children either ready themselves for or deal with the challenges of the classroom.

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* When low social status is identified with ethnic origin, one can almost always predict accompanying educational failure.

** See, for example, Carl Frankenstein, "The Problem of Ethnic Differences," *Megamot*, 1951, Vol. 2, pp. 261-276 (in Hebrew); and Leah Adar, "Research DifficultiesConcerning the Learning of Immigrants' Children," *Megamot*, 1956, Vol. 7, pp. 139-180 (in Hebrew).

Cultural heritage also has an impact on school success. In many cultures, like the Arab one from which Afro-Asian Jews mostly hail, there is, for example, a quite rigid relationship to authority, One learns often to accept figures in power without asking questions about whether their beliefs or demands are justified. If the father in the family is related to as an "authority figure" of this kind, it could be that, for this and other related reasons, the child's critical thinking capacity will not be developed fully. To cite another example, the more primitive cultures relate to the written word as always correct, almost "lawful." To break away from this tradition, which is necessary for a student who is to think independently in the classroom, can be very difficult.

Language itself, spoken or written, is very important to the development of intellectual functioning, and researchers have shown that the language patterns of culturally disadvantaged groups are more one-dimensional than that of other groups, in the sense that they consist of simpler sentence structure and a vocabulary which comparatively lacks richness and precision. This also affects achievement and intelligence, at least as measured by the accepted tests.* It should be noted finally that, as in any similar immigrant society, there was a lack of cultural continuity in Israel, particularly evident in the early years after immigration. This resulted sometimes in a degeneration of the various support systems which usually help individuals and families to deal with the conditions of the reality in which they live.

The young child, then, coming to the modern, Western-type school (the educational system of Israel grew out of the European classical tradition, where the emphasis is on intellectual excellence and the capacity to perform well on tests) already lags behind his middle-class peers in kindergarten. He is not used to answering the kinds of questions his teacher asks him and in general has developed neither a span of concentration nor a capacity to sit quietly. The frustration of not being able to succeed in academic tasks also can result in disturbing behavior of various sorts – from aggressiveness or over-activity to withdrawal. Since the home usually does not have the capacity to help him overcome his problems in school, the child often lacks motivation and is pervaded by a sense of failure and lack of confidence. Given also that teachers are frequently not trained to deal with these problems, are frustrated with the difficulty of their work, and have developed low levels of expectations for their students, which affects their academic performance negatively, the schools have not been effective in helping the Afro-Asian immigrant to acquire enough of the resources necessary to integrate easily into the society.

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* It is not in the scope of this chapter to deal with the debate on whether such tests are "culture free" and thus fair measures of innate intellectual abilities.

Policy-makers, at the same time, were still convinced that education is the most effective path to mobility and were thus increasingly dissatisfied with the school in its role as "absorbing agent." It became evident that, despite the Compulsory Education Law, which was passed in 1949 and which made school free and compulsory from kindergarten through eighth grade, there remained a serious gap between the average educational achievements of Afro-Asian and European-American Jews. Moreover, it was clear that there were very few Afro-Asian Jews attending academic high school, and, in the early years, any kind of secondary school framework at all (see the chapter, "Vocational Education" for further information concerning this subject). Partially responsible was the fact that many disadvantaged families needed their teenage children to help them earn money, and so asked them rather to enter the labor market (or, in the cases of the girls, kept them at home to help with child-rearing and housekeeping). Also, secondary education, not being free, created a further financial burden which few Afro-Asian families could manage. In 1954, however, a graded tuition scheme was introduced which considerably lightened this burden. Still, the number of Afro-Asian students in secondary schools remained severely disproportionate to their numbers in the population.

This situation was considered a serious threat to Israel's egalitarian ideals and an impediment to the social integration of its citizens. Unless Eastern children were educated and socially integrated, they could not avail themselves of occupational opportunities and would remain in the marginal ranks of the disadvantaged. In the late 1950's, consequently, an even more systematic effort was undertaken to find ways to help disadvantaged children cope with the school system. In 1957, remedial reading experiments were introduced, for example, and four years later a "long school day" was instituted for children on the assumption that extra tutelage would help them to learn necessary skills. In 1963, the Ministry of Education established the Center for Schools Requiring Reinforcement to research and implement appropriate compensatory education and enrichment programs. The existence of this center helped to define the problem and brought its serious implications to the attention of the public.

In its attempt to deal with the problem effectively, the Center decided to categorize elementary schools as advantaged, partially disadvantaged and disadvantaged. The criteria used were the country of origin of students or their parents (if 66% of the school population were of Eastern origin, it was classified on this measure as a disadvantaged school), the physical condition of the building and equipment, the qualifications of the teaching staff and the results of the students in a qualifying test* given in the eighth grade.**

Schools classified as disadvantaged were provided with different kinds of compensatory education programs, such as remedial work, enrichment courses and an extended school year (eleven months instead of the usual ten). Indeed almost all compensatory measures which had been instituted abroad and proven effective in their context were adapted and tried out in Israel. Also, in 1965, residential schools for gifted disadvantaged students were established, with the hope of developing both academic excellence and leadership qualities.

The Ministry's Center attempted to create new curricula relevant to the particular needs of disadvantaged schools, and recommended giving teachers extra benefits if they would be willing to teach in them. Ability grouping was also introduced when striking differences in achievement persisted. The assumption was that those disadvantaged students who had not overcome their educational handicaps through compensatory programs would better their performance if allowed to study with children at their same level, while receiving additional individualized attention where necessary. In fact, however, as in most programs of this kind, the children were grouped not only according to ability, but, because of the high correlation of ethnic origin and academic performance, by ethnic identity as well. This method has thus resulted in the continued segregation and low achievement of Afro-Asian students.

In 1968, the Knesset (Israeli Parliament) approved a law to restructure the educational system, making education free and compulsory through the ninth grade and integrated wherever technically possible. This Educational Reform, which was to be implemented over ten years, changed the primary school to include grades one to six (previously it had been from grades one to eight), created the junior high school to include grades seven to nine, and changed the senior high school to include grades ten to twelve (previously it had been from nine to twelve). Its idea was to establish a comprehensive regional school for the upper grades, which would include within one building both the academic and vocational trends and the junior and senior high schools. The purpose of the Educational Reform was to raise the general level of education and, as mentioned, to integrate the school population.*

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* This test of ability was used to classify students in order to determine who should receive the benefits of the graded tuition scheme in secondary education. It was inaugurated in 1955 and discontinued in 1972 when the Educational Reform Law (to be discussed later) changed the structure of secondary school education.

**The criteria for defining disadvantaged schools were modified in 1972 and were based rather on the predictive power of three variables related to the students: fathers' education, size of family and country of origin.

It became clear over the years that, although compensatory educational programs were sometimes beneficial, in general the gap in academic achievement between the different sectors of the population was not decreasing sufficiently, as evidenced in part by the relatively low numbers of Afro-Asian Jews in post-primary education (see Table Two). It was felt that a concentration on integration as an overall national policy might provide a more effective solution both because it is congruent with the ethos of the country and also because of the assumption that an integrated environment would stimulate and motivate disadvantaged students. It was hoped that Afro-Asian students would better their academic performance in the integrated school, with a larger percent continuing into higher education, and with increased chances in general for social mobility and its concomitant benefits. In fact, integration has occurred spontaneously in the past years in the country because of national mobility patterns** as well as because of administrative decree both in the formal school system and in various informal settings which are educational in nature. In the ensuing chapters, these subjects will be discussed in further detail.

When speaking about integration, it is necessary to bring up the issue of the education of Israeli Arabs. Integration in *Research in Action* refers only to the mixing of different segments of the Jewish population. Integration with the Arab population at this point in history seems not to be feasible for several reasons, the first among them being the tense political situation. Also, Arabs in Israel, as elsewhere, have a distinct history, culture, religion, language and community organization, and most have clearly indicated that they do not want their children to be educated in institutions which do not transfer their heritage. Furthermore, although Israeli Arabs identify with the State of Israel-in different degrees-they feel psychologically and socially akin

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* At the time this book is being written, only about 50% of the schools have become part of the Reform, while the rest have maintained their original structure. Implementation of the Reform has been slow due to financial difficulties, although also to some extent because of the reluctance of authorities to enforce integration.

An evaluation study of the School Reform, carried out by an Institute research team, in collaboration with a team from the University of Tel-Aviv, was published in 1978. The findings can be summarized very briefly in the following manner: achievements were not significantly higher in schools which were part of the Reform, but those schools do have a greater "holding power" (i.e. lower drop-out rates). The researchers postulate that it might be a different climate" in these schools which is responsible for this.

** After the Six-Day War in 1967, there was a percentage of the Afro-Asian population which became very successful economically and, at least in the urban centers, moved into middle-class neighborhoods. The result of this was more integrated neighborhood schools. Economically, and often in all respects, this group can no longer be described as disadvantaged.

TABLE TWO*

INDICATORS FOR THE ETHNIC LAG IN EDUCATIONAL PARTICIPATION OF STUDENTS IN POST–PRIMARY** AND HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

		Percentage of Eastern Students		
Grade or Type of School	Year	In Population At Large	Among Students	Indicator
Post-Primary Education	1966/67	46,3	35,6	-10.7
	1972/73	56.6	46.4	-10.2
	1976/77	58.3	50.6	- 7.7
9th Grade	1966/67	46.3	45.3	- 1.0
	1972/73	56.6	57.0	+ 0.4
12th Grade	1966/67	46.3	18.9	-27.4
	1972/73	56.6	34.8	-21.8
Academic High Schools	1966/67	46.3	25.4	-20.9
	1972/73	56.6	32.0	-24.6
	1977/78	58.3	36.1	-22.2
Vocational High Schools	1966/67	46.3	47.0	+ 0.7
	1972/73	56.6	58.1	+ 1.5
	1977/78	58.3	63.6	+ 5.3
Recipients of Vocational & Academic Matriculation Certificates of Secondary School	1966/67	46.3	12.6	-33.7
	1972/73	56.6	20.8	-35.8
University Students	1966/67	55.0	12.2	-42.8
	1972/73	49.1	14.1	-35.0

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* *The Educational System through Numbers*, Ministry of Education, Jerusalem, 1974 (in Hebrew).

** Post-primary includes all students in grades nine through twelve in academic, vocational and agricultural secondary schools.

to the Arab world and would, if integrated, be a minority upon whom the dominant Jewish majority was essentially imposing its culture and ways of life. Compulsory Jewish-Arab integration would likewise be a burden upon the Jews, especially if it were at the expense of the current emphasis in schools in the Jewish sector on Jewish history, including Zionism, Hebrew literature, and Bible studies. It is of course to be hoped, however, that if there is peace, Jewish and Arab students will have much more contact with each other, including the sharing of many educational experiences (even if the schools themselves will not be integrated).

Dissatisfied with the general situation in the country as well as with their own personal situation, a group of young Afro-Asian Jews from Jerusalem organized in the early 1970's, calling themselves the "Black Panthers" after the group of blacks of the same name in the United States. They believed that not anywhere near enough was being done by the government to remedy the situation and suffering of the Afro-Asian Jews in the country. They demonstrated in the streets of the city in order to bring their feelings into the public eye. In reaction to them, as well as for other reasons, the government created almost immediately a high level public committee to reconsider once again the whole issue and propose alternative strategies to cope with it. It was the first committee on social issues chaired by a Prime Minister, then the late Golda Meir. Its report in 1973 highlighted the dimensions and urgency of the problems of disadvantaged youth, and led to the development in 1975 of a comprehensive Welfare Program in the area of education (see chapter on HIPPY for further information about this program).

From the vantage point of the present, it is perhaps possible to say that, in general terms, some significant progress has in fact been made. On the one hand, illiteracy has been almost totally eliminated. On the other, most children of Afro-Asian immigrants have succeeded in recent years in entering some kind of post-secondary educational institution, even though only approximately 33% of them receive matriculation certificates. In addition, according to a recent study, while only 30% of adults of Afro-Asian origin over thirty-five years of age have successfully completed eight years of education, among those between twenty-five to thirty-five years of age, the number has more than doubled (74%)*. This appears to be because of the fact that the older group was probably educated in their countries of origin while the younger ones grew up in Israel and were graduates of its compulsory school system.

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* J. Matras and G. Noam, *Intergeneration Educational Mobility in Israel – An Overview*, Jerusalem: Brookdale Institute, 1976.

There is no question that the problem of the disadvantaged is still pressing, however. What seems clear today after some twenty-five years of experience is that simply expanding the existing educational system will not change the situation radically. Longer school days or even compensatory programs (when their long-range effect is looked at) within the framework of the formal system do not really bring about changes which are radical enough. Although integration has had positive effects, it also has not been a panacea. Of course, since children spend many hours of their lives in the school setting, it has to be made as relevant to the needs of the different student populations within it as possible. Teachers must be much more adequately trained. Curriculum must be more broadly based, not necessarily concentrating only on the traditional subject matter, but somehow providing teachers with better tools to deal with different traditions and levels of learning. But, it is certainly time that the focus on school as the only important educational institution be changed. The family, the peer group, and the army all have powerful influence which can be transformed and mobilized in the struggle of educating disadvantaged youngsters. Moreover, much more experimentation in "total" educational settings need to be undertaken, such as in the summer camp, or, perhaps even more important, in the residential setting where the disadvantaged student might be exposed to the kind of educational opportunities and intensive experience he needs to succeed.

It is precisely to these issues that the NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education has addressed itself through its action research. It has attempted to create more effective educational frameworks; it has looked at broader issues in order to understand the influence of different processes. It has attempted to work in and with the family, perceiving the importance of its role in the socialization of the child and in his intellectual development. In short, it has functioned as a social catalyst in many instances by creating educational alternatives, and by being seriously and continually involved in the educational "field." The following chapters present different projects which have all played an integral part in the NCJW Research Institute's effort to make education an effective way of providing each Israeli citizen with the opportunity of fulfilling the potential with which he was born.

CHAPTER TWO

HIPPY
Home Instruction Program for Pre-School Youngsters

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CHAPTER TWO

HIPPY

Home Instruction Program for Pre-School Youngsters

The effects of cultural disadvantage which have been discussed in the introduction actually become apparent before the young child enters school. From the age of two or before, as the acquisition of language assumes central importance, educators and child-care workers can recognize the evolving patterns of behavior and intellectual development which are dysfunctional for school success. Frequently, as mentioned, children of disadvantaged backgrounds tend to come to the formal school setting with limited language ability, a low level of curiosity, and lack of experience in coping with the kind of intellectual "problems" which often arise in the classroom.

Most educators believe that the early years are of vital importance in the total life span of the child and this point of view is dominant also in Israel. Accordingly, there are publicly supported services for the very young which have been functioning since well before the establishment of the State. The *Tipat Chalav* (well-baby clinic) service for pre- and post-natal care is attended by over 90% of Israeli mothers and provides them with on-going health guidance. It also serves as a highly successful screening program for early identification of children with developmental problems. Such problems (poor hearing, limited sight, retarded neurological development, to mention several examples) are frequently the cause of subsequent learning deficiencies in children. There is increasing interest in these clinics in the specific problems caused by cultural disadvantage, and several programs have been initiated to begin to identify and deal with them.

There are also many day care and nursery school services for Israeli children. Day care can begin as early as six months while nursery education is available from the age of three. These services are mostly staffed by professionals and are supervised by government agencies. They are viewed both as a means of allowing mothers to return to work and as a way of providing the young disadvantaged child with the direct stimulation and enrichment that may be lacking in his home. Almost all four-year-old disadvantaged children attend nursery school which is provided free of charge for them, and many younger ones attend day-care centers. In recent years, there have been increases in the allocation of both money and effort to improve these direct services to disadvantaged children since it is clear that the educational achievement gap between this population and their middle -class peers still exists. Consequently, the educational content and the quality of staff in day-care and nursery education have recently come under review and are undergoing changes.

In an effort to improve the environment in which young disadvantaged children are growing up in Israel, several governmental agencies have introduced in the past few years substantial programs for parent education in the form of parent discussion groups and courses for adults. Parents' response to this new development has exceeded expectations, even though not enough qualified manpower has been as yet trained to meet the needs of the population. Exactly what the influence of these kinds of programs will be has not yet been determined.

In addition to the programs for children and parents which take place away from home, there has been increased interest in focussing on the young disadvantaged child in his home with his parents throughout the world. Projects with this focus have been developed beccause of the recognition that the majority of a young child's life is spent in his home, and the relationships and activities that take place there are of utmost importance, even when part of the waking day is at the day-care center or nursery school. Given also that it seems to be the home which determines if a child is disadvantaged or not, the question arises to what extent programs of compensatory education outside of it can be effective in helping the child to perform well in school. This is particularly problematic in the light of the data gathered in the United States which indicates that gains in the academic performance of young disadvantaged children who participate in special intervention projects are almost never maintained over the years. This has led educators to suggest that successful pre-school educational intervention programs require the active support and reinforcement of the family and should concentrate on bringing about changes within it. A project called HIPPY (Home Instruction Program for Pre-School Youngsters) evolved from such an approach to the problem.

HIPPY was developed in 1968 by Dr. Avima Lombard, a senior research associate of the NCJW Research Institute, and by Professor Abraham Tannenbaum, then on sabbatical leave from Teacher's College of Columbia University. It was based on project Star, created in the United States, which had been designed to facilitate the acquisition of basic cognitive and language skills among six-year-old culturally disadvantaged children. The project used the family as the educational vehicle for improving the acquisition of reading skills. A proposal which adapted the techniques of this project to four to six-year-old Israeli children and adjusted the content to suit this age group in its specific culture was submitted and accepted in the spring of 1969.

The principal idea of the program was to help the disadvantaged mother (or another substitute family member) educate her pre-school child in the home. This was to be done through a series of specially prepared programmed materials covering a three-year period. Dr. Lombard predicted that in such a program both the mother and child would benefit. The mother would learn new attitudes and skills congruent with the demands of modern schooling and would gain confidence in her ability to help her child learn, an effect that hopefully would last over the years. The child would develop intellectually so that he would be ready to learn in school and thus not begin the cycle of failure that cultural disadvantage often brings about.

Para-professional aides were employed to implement the experimental HIPPY program which was to take place in the Hatikva quarter of Tel-Aviv. Generally, in home-instruction programs of this kind, aides are chosen from the indigenous community and are therefore familiar with the population they service. The assumption is that the para-professionals will not only be able to perform the formal instructional task, but will also act as a model with which the mothers of the experimental group can identify. Three women from the same socio-economic class as the experimental population were recruited. They had no professional qualifications or status but were trained by the NCJW Research Institute staff to do their particular job. One was from the Hatikva quarter of Tel-Aviv, born in Yemen and a mother of two. Another, of Persian birth and widowed in the Six Day War, lived in an adjacent neighborhood. The third, a native Israeli and a widow from the 1956 Sinai Campaign, lived relatively nearby. A professional educator was also recruited to serve as the field coordinator and to train and supervise the para-professionals.

There were both an experimental and a control group in the study.* Children in the experimental group, designated as "Home-Instructed", were taught by their mothers at home. Once a week the para-professional came and presented the week's material to the mother at her home, generally in the absence of the child. During the visit, the para–professional also reviewed the previous week's work and discussed specific problems which the mother had encountered. Each para-professional was responsible for about twenty families and worked five days a week, four days in the field and one day in conference with the field coordinator.

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* A control group is as similar as possible in all ways to the experimental group when it is first selected. Following the selection, the experimental group takes part in the experiment whereas the control group does not. It is utilized as a means of comparison with the experimental group to make certain that the findings from the experimental group are the result of the intervention and not due to extraneous or uncontrolled factors.

The control group was divided into two groups. In the first group, designated as "Teacher Instructed," the nursery and kindergarten teachers used the program as part of the everyday curriculum in the regular classroom setting, teaching the children both in groups and on a one-to-one basis. The field coordinator maintained weekly contact with the teachers, acting as consultant as problems arose. The second group, designated as "Non-instructed," consisted of children who attended nursery school or kindergarten but were not administered the program either at home or in school.

The study included 161 children drawn in two waves, one in 1969 and one in 1970. These children were all four years old at the beginning of the study and were selected from seven pre-school classes, with a predominance of disadvantaged pupils. Information was collected on parents' level of education, country of parents' origin and on the number of children in a family. The data showed that over 80% of the parents had no more than a maximum of eight years of elementary schooling, that 75% came from North African and Middle Eastern countries and that the families tended to be large. These characteristics reflected the general situation of the disadvantaged family in Israel.

In October, 1969, following the assignment of the first wave of children to their respective groupings, a letter was sent home with each child indicating that the child would be part of a new educational program. Introductory home visits by the field coordinator followed a week later. This allowed the research staff an opportunity to become acquainted with the family and ask the mother if she would commit herself to participate in the project. A similar procedure was followed with the second wave of children in 1970. Table One (A) indicates the number of participants each year according to the different assignment groups and Table One (B) represents the distribution of the sample in the follow-up study by numbers of years of program instruction.

The program of instruction focussed on three major areas of intellectual functioning: formal language, sensory discrimination and problem solving. Formal language instruction centered around simple, commercially prepared story books. In the course of reading, questions were asked about the details of content, vocabulary was learned, and concepts introduced. These concepts were then incorporated into games and exercises (see Illustration One). Sensory discrimination skills included visual, auditory and tactic exercises with special emphasis on the ability to identify and discriminate between stimuli (see Illustration Two).

TABLE ONE (A)*

Assignment Groups by Year and Number of Participants

Assignment Groups	Number of Participants		
	1969–1970	1970–1971	1971–1972
Experimental Group: Home Instruction			
a) Wave One	48	36	26
b) Wave Two	–	22	11
Control Groups: 1) Teacher-Instruction			
a) Wave One	42	17	No Instruction
b) Wave Two	–	19	No Instruction
2) No Instruction	30	30	30
Total	120	124	67

TABLE ONE (B)

Follow-up by Assignment Groups, Number of Years of Program Instruction, Number of Participants and Year

	Number of Participants			
Follow-up	1969–1970	1970–1971	1971–1972	1972–1973
Experimental Group: Home Instruction				
a) After One year and Discontinued	–	12	23	23
b) After Two Years and Discontinued	–	–	10	21
c) After Three Years and Discontinued	–	–	–	26
Control Group: 1) Teacher Instruction				
a) After One Year and Discontinued	–	25	28	28
b) After Two Years and Discontinued	–	–	17	17
2) No Instruction	30	30	30	30
Dropped Out for Technical Reasons**	–	–	16	16
Total	30	67	124	161

* Avima Lombard, "Home Instruction for Pre-School Youngsters, Final Report," (Jerusalem: The NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education, The Hebrew University 1973), p.31.

** Children who moved from the area and who were unable to be followed-up.

Illustration One

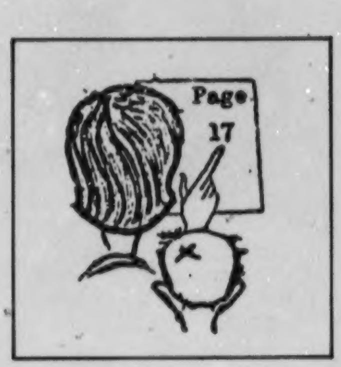
Week: III – Day One

Subject: Joey's Bicycle

INSTRUCTIONS

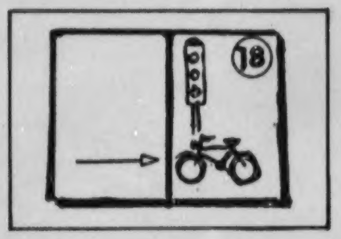
1. (Open the book "Nurit's Carriage and Joey's Bicycle" to page 17 and say:)

   WHEN A PERSON RIDES A BIKE HE HAS TO PUT OUT HIS ARM TO SHOW WHICH WAY HE IS TURNING. SHOW ME A PICTURE OF JOEY PUTTING OUT HIS ARM.



2. (Open the book to page 18 and say:)

   WHEN A PERSON GETS TO A TRAFFIC LIGHT HE LOOKS AT THE COLORS TO SEE WHETHER TO GO OR STOP. AT A RED LIGHT YOU STOP, AT A GREEN LIGHT YOU GO.



3. (Take out a clean sheet of paper and a pencil and say:)

   NOW WE ARE GOING TO PLAY A GAME.

   WHEN I SAY "GREEN" – YOU'LL DRAW A LINE ON THE PAPER.

   WHEN I SAY "RED" – YOU'LL STOP DRAWING'

4. (Take out two circles – one red, and one green, and say:)

   HERE'S A GREEN CIRCLE. DRAW A LINE.

   WHEN I SHOW YOU THE RED CIRCLE, STOP DRAWING.

5. (Say:)

   NOW YOU SHOW ME THE SIGNS AND I'LL DRAW.

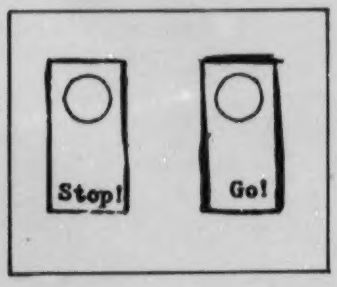


Illustration Two

Week III – Day 2

Subject: Soft and Loud Sounds (1)

INSTRUCTIONS

1. Materials: A radio
   (Turn on the radio.)

   DO YOU HEAR SOUNDS?

2. (Turn off the radio.)

   DO YOU HEAR SOUNDS NOW?

3. NOW I DON'T HEAR SOUNDS. TURN ON THE RADIO. (Child turns on the radio.) NOW I HEAR SOUNDS.

4. (Turn up the radio very loudly and say:)
   THIS IS A LOUD SOUND.
   REPEAT AFTER ME: THIS IS A LOUD SOUND.

5. (Turn down the radio until it is playing very softly and say:)
   THIS IS A SOFT SOUND.
   REPEAT AFTER ME: THIS IS A SOFT SOUND.

6. (Say to your child:)
   TURN UP THE RADIO UNTIL IT'S VERY LOUD. WHAT SOUND DO YOU HEAR?

7. NOW MAKE IT VERY SOFT.
   WHAT SOUND DO YOU HEAR?

8. (Turn up the radio until it's very loud and say:)
   THIS IS A VERY LOUD SOUND. IT'S NOT PLEASANT TO HEAR.

9. (Turn the radio way down.)
   THIS IS VERY SOFT. IT'S HARD TO HEAR THE RADIO. IT'S NOT PLEASANT TO HEAR EITHER.

10. (Turn the radio to a medium sound and say:)
    THIS IS PLEASANT TO HEAR. WHAT SOUND IS THIS?

11. I'LL TELL YOU WHICH WAY TO TURN THE DIAL.

    TURN IT UP SO THAT IT'S LOUD.

    TURN IT DOWN SO IT'S SOFT.

    TURN IT UP AGAIN.

    TURN IT TO A PLEASANT SOUND.

    TURN IT DOWN SO IT'S SOFT.

    TURN IT UP SO IT'S LOUD.

12. NOW CLOSE YOUR EYES AND LISTEN.

    (Turn it up very loudly.)
    WHAT SOUND DO YOU HEAR?

    (Turn it way down.)
    WHAT SOUND DO YOU HEAR?

    (Turn it to a pleasant sound.)
    WHAT DO YOU HEAR?

    (Turn it way down.)
    WHAT DO YOU HEAR?

    (Turn it up very loudly.)
    WHAT DO YOU HEAR?

Problem solving involved developing the ability to list the attributes of objects or ideas, as well as sorting, matching and grouping (see Illustration Three). The child was always encouraged to ask questions if he did not understand.

Each activity or unit of instruction lasted five to ten minutes. A day's schedule involved the mother's teaching of two different units to her child from two of the three areas of intellectual functioning (formal language and problem solving for example), which changed in emphasis over the three years. Ten units of instruction were worked on during one week, some of the activities overlapping so that the child's understanding would be reinforced. During the second year, the degree of difficulty of the materials was increased, and, in the final year, the week's activities were designed so as to enable the child to determine the order and pace of his work.

Throughout the three years of instruction, the para-professionals distributed a weekly program packet. This packet included instruction sheets for the mothers and work sheets for the children. The mothers' instruction sheets were detailed, including the actual words to be used in the activities (see previous Illustrations). They employed both pictures and text and were color-cued for simplicity, especially for mothers whose reading skills were limited. In this manner all mothers could work at their skill level with the material in a relatively uniform way.

The resulting new interaction between mother and child led one mother to remark: "I never knew that I could help my children with their lessons. Now that I've succeeded with Dalia and am teaching her such important things, I've found the courage to help the others at school with their homework." Ziva, twenty-six year old, pregnant mother of three living in a two-room flat, said: "If only you'd come when the other children were small. They know so little. Moshe is the only one with any education because he was lucky enough to get caught up with the program."

The evaluation of the project, carried out between 1969 and 1972, highlights Ziva's remark about her son Moshe. A battery of tests was administered to all the children in the study prior to the instruction period. These included tests of intelligence, perception, shapes, colors and spatial relations. The battery provided base-line data and verified that the sample populations were more or less homogeneous. After the completion of the first year's programs and again in the subsequent two years, tests were administered examining a range of subjects including those of the pre-tests as well as verbal and math skills and picture reading.

The results indicate that, at the end of the first year (1969–1970), the "Home Instructed" group performed better on most of the tests than

Illustration three

Week III – Day 3

Subject: Matrix

INSTRUCTIONS

(Remove all the markers from the previous page)

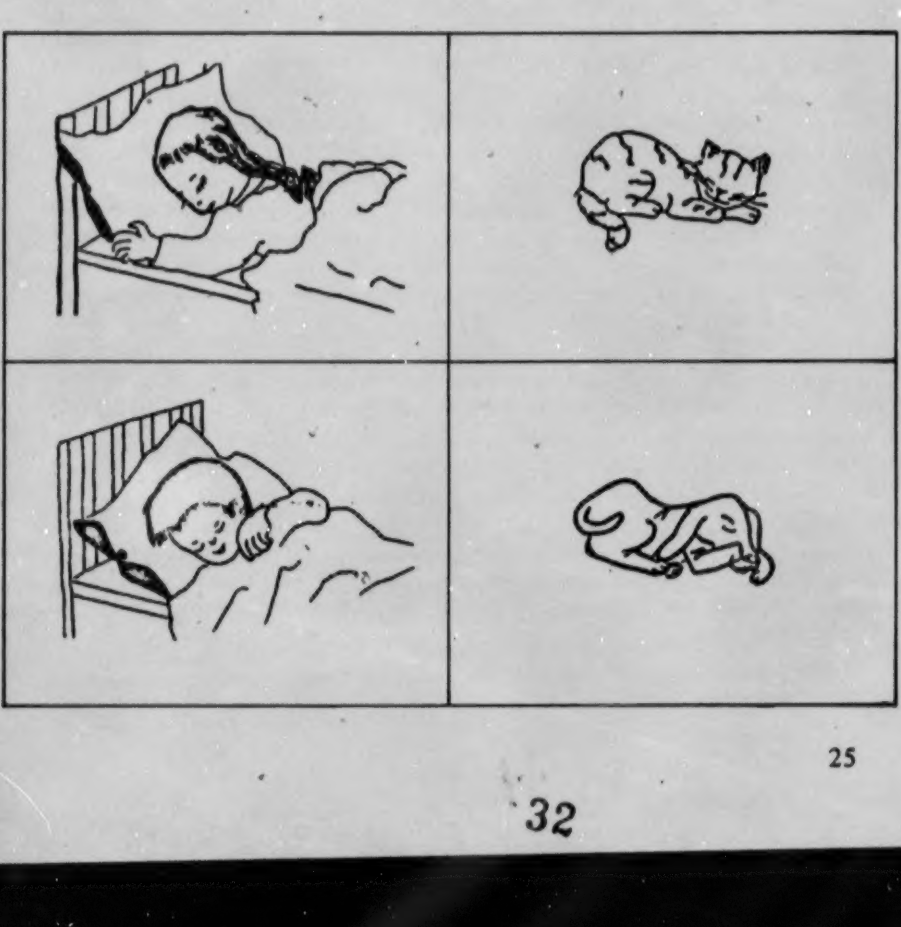
1. **HERE ARE 2 BLUE MARKERS. PUT THEM ON THE ANIMALS.**
2. **HERE ARE 2 RED MARKERS. PUT THEM ON THE CHILDREN.**

3. **WHERE DID YOU PUT THE BLUE MARKERS, ON THE CHILDREN OR ON THE ANIMALS?**

- on the animals.

4. **WHERE DID YOU PUT THE RED MARKERS, ON THE CHILDREN OR ON THE ANIMALS?**

- on the children.



either of the control groups. This was also true at the end of the second year (1970– 1971). Finally, at the end of the third year of the study (1971–1972), the Israeli Intelligence Test for Grade One was administered, and it was found that the "Home Instructed" group excelled on all measures (vocabulary, signs, seriations) and was significantly higher on the total I.Q. measure than the other two groups.*

These findings were corroborated by the comment of the kindergarten and first grade teachers. For example, one kindergarten teacher commented with regard to the "Home Instructed" children, "I only have to demonstrate the task once and these children carry on without further guidance." Another kindergarten teacher exclaimed: "They are stealing the show in most areas of work and play." These teachers also spoke of behavioral changes in the "Home Instructed" children, such as a more alert attitude to the kindergarten program, a general inquisitiveness and a quick response to stimuli. They also noted increased cooperation on the part of the parents. First grade teachers who were interviewed also said that they found that the "Home Instructed" children excelled in academic achievement in comparison to either of the control groups.

The cumulative effects of the program complemented the teachers' observations and the evidence reported above for each year of the study. Over the three years (1969–1972), there were five different "Home Instructed" experimental groups.** In general, those who had participated in a "Home Instructed" group for only one year exhibited no appreciable difference on the measures tested as compared with those of the control groups. On the other hand, significant differences were observed between the children of the "Home Instructed" groups who participated in HIPPY for at least two years and the children of the "Teacher-Instructed" and "Non-Instructed" control groups. There was little difference between those children who had participated in the "Home Instructed" program for two years and those children who had participated in it for three.

During the year 1972-1973, no contact was made with the children, but two achievement tests (reading comprehension and mathematical ability) were administered at the end of the year (i.e. in Grade Two). The results reaffirmed previous findings that children who had two or more years of "Home Instruction" would perform significantly better on the achievement tests than children in the two control groups. It appeared that "Teacher-Instruction" had little effect on the children, since no significant difference was found between the "Teacher-Instructed" children and the "Non-Instructed" children. Re-examination of the children at the end of Grade Five (1975-1976), using school grades and teacher evaluations, suggested that differences between the experimental and control groups still existed, especially in areas connected with achievement orientation.*

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* As noted in Table One (A), there was no "Teacher-Instructed" group in the third year of the study (1971–1972). The first grade curriculum took precedence over instructional material and thus no "Teacher-Instructed" control section was planned. All overall comparisons with the "Teacher-Instructed" groups therefore must be viewed in the light of this difference in the research design.

** These "Home Instructed" groups are differentiated by wave (1969,1970) and length of time (one to three years of instruction).

During the implementation of the study, several developments occurred that had not been foreseen. For example, although it was the "Home Instructed" mothers who agreed to participate and were assigned responsibility for instructing their children, in several instances it was the father or an older sibling who assumed responsibility. In fact, fathers often served as the substitute for the mother for short periods, and older siblings acted to assist mothers who had difficulty with the materials, although the mothers continuedtoconsider themselves active participants in the program. It was a surprising finding that these "substitute" figures seemed to be as effective as the mothers and were also influenced by the role they assumed.

Another unexpected development was that neighbors who lived in the same residential area as the target children became indignant over the fact that they had been "excluded" from the project. Mothers not included in the experimental groups asked to participate and to be given instruction sheets for use with own children. The research team saw this as a very positive sign. A whole community of disadvantaged parents wanted very much to participate in a program that might increase the chances of their childrens' future educational success. This was an early indication of the general appeal of the program and the consequent possibility for its implementation in other communities.

The flexibility of the "Home Instructed" setting in contrast to the "Teacher-Instructed" setting became increasingly evident when the implementation of HIPPY as a service project began. In the school, education is restricted by formal regulations, physical setting, hours and number of children in the class. In the family, on the other hand, "Home Instruction" can be adapated to the child's needs and moods, the mother's time schedule and obligations, and the demands of the environment. One mother, for example, who was sick in bed awaiting an operation, said to the para-professional, "Teach me over here next to the bed, and I'll teach Yaffa. When I go to the hospital her older sister will teach her. It's a shame that just because I'm sick, Yaffa won't be educated." Rarely did a child fall behind because of illness.

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* The data for 1975-1976 are to be published in the near future.

It became quickly apparent that the HIPPY project affected the mothers to a noticeable extent. Some illiterate mothers were encouraged to begin their own education afresh due to its impact. One enthusiastic mother speaking of her work with her son said: "I've already learned what to do with some booklets . . .I'm learning together with him." Others took the initiative to enroll in evening classes to meet the new challenges involved in working on the program materials with their children. Although changes in the mother were not systematically evaluated, impressionistic reports by the para-professionals testified to the increase in the level of self-confidence of the mothers. Mothers who had inquired earlier: "How can I help?" now had the conviction that they had something to offer their children.

Yet in spite of this general optimistic feeling, it is interesting that a systematic study performed at the NCJW Research Institute by two researchers, Davis and Kugelmass, on a segment of the HIPPY mothers during the second year of the HIPPY program indicated that, although the project did have some impact on the mothers, there was no appreciable difference in the mother's view of herself as an educator. The researchers suggested that this might be because the project was based entirely on programmed materials, leaving little room for developing the initiative of the mother or encouraging her to act independently. Another interpretation might be that the research tools and techniques available for measuring home environment are not effective in assessing such changes.

The para-professionals were also evidently influenced by the project. All three expressed a desire for further education and said that the way they were bringing up their own children had been influenced by their role. One para-professional began to attend evening classes, while another, whose children were grown, took the initiative to collect a complete set of materials for her grandchildren.

When the action research project was completed in 1972, the inevitable question had to be asked: was the NCJW Research Institute staff ready to encourage the implementation of what had been a pilot project in an experimental setting on a mass basis? Would the quality of the program and the lack of personal contact with the University staff, which had been very intense, affect the impact of the project? Were the researchers ready to recommend the institution of what would be almost an additional educational system for pre-school children that would cost a large amount of public money? After several intense discussions among themselves and other educators and scholars, the consensus was that the findings were positive enough to present the project to the Ministry of Education and suggest a gradual expansion to be supervised closely by the University staff.

Today, HIPPY has been implemented throughout the country. This is not only a direct result of the NCJW Research Institute's decision in 1972, but also of two other important developments. First, the success of the project prompted many Israeli communities who had heard about it to request HIPPY for their own areas. Or-Yehuda, a suburb of Tel-Aviv, was the first to ask the Institute to begin such a project and offered to provide the funding themselves. Although the Institute staff agreed, by this time it had modified the program to some extent because of experience and the data and conclusions of the Davis and Kugelmass study. They had decided to introduce a group factor which provided a forum for discussion and a way to raise the level of consciousness of the mother in her role as educator. The mothers were brought together every other week in a community center without their children (in some cases a baby-sitting service was provided) to discuss common problems, voice opinions, encourage one another when necessary and learn the week's program material. On the alternate weeks, the para-professionals came to the home as before. All subsequent HIPPY programs included this modification.

Besides the increasing number of requests from various neighborhoods, a second factor played a decisive role in HIPPY's expansion. This was the growing governmental concern during the early seventies with problems of the disadvantaged. At the same time that the original HIPPY study was being conducted in the Hatikva quarter of Tel-Aviv, "The Prime Minister's Committee on Children and Youth in Distress" was established, as mentioned in the Introduction. Associates of the NCJW Research Institute participated in the Committee's work and in the writing of the report. In 1974, as a result of the Committee's recommendations, a cabinet committee was created to deal with social policies and, in particular, with programs concerning the disadvantaged. Early the following year, the Ministry of Education submitted its Welfare Program which proposed to channel concentrated resources into selected areas of the country where the population was severely disadvantaged. This program was approved by the cabinet committee, and several of the NCJW Research Institute's projects submitted to the Ministry of Education were selected to be implemented in the fall of 1975 within the framework of the Program.* HIPPY was one of them.

It is the responsibility of each individual community in which the Welfare Program has been established to select projects from its "package" of suggested projects. The criteria for choosing projects are dependent on the community's assessment of the local needs, as well as the amount of money placed at their disposal by the section of the Ministry of Education administering the Welfare Program. This procedure was adopted in order to encourage decentralization of decision-making, assuming that local people would be most in tune with the needs of their community and choose the most beneficial programs. The HIPPY program became, in fact, one of the most requested projects.

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* Other projects submitted were in the area of rehabilitation of marginal youth, summer camps, tutoring and teacher training.

Each community that chose it agreed in effect to maintain it for a period of at least three years and triple the total number of participants by the beginning of the third year. The previous year's group of four-year-olds would continue in the project as five-year-olds while, at the same time, another group of four-year-olds would begin the program. The same thing would occur the following year, except that there would also be a group of six-year-olds. It was projected that by 1978-1979, there would be a total of 7000 family participants in the national HIPPY project, and in fact this is close to the actual number today. For a synopsis of HIPPY's development over the years, see Table Two.

TABLE TWO

Year	Number of HIPPY Families*	Number of Communities
1969-1970	48	1
1970-1971	58	1
1971-1972	98	3
1972-1973	221	4
1973-1974	231	5
1974-1975	476	6
1975-1976	1,590	21
1976-1977	2,809	26
1977-1978	4,894	45
1978-1979	7,350	72

* These figures refer solely to those children who have participated in the "Home-Instructed" groups.

The present implementation of the national HIPPY project is a combined effort of the Ministry of Education, local authorities and the NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education. The Ministry provides the funding through its Welfare Program budget. The local authorities that have chosen HIPPY hire a local HIPPY coordinator who has been approved by the Institute's staff. The para-professional aides are selected by this local coordinator from among the mothers in the target population after consultation with local community workers and teachers who know the mothers. The Institute is responsible for the content of the HIPPY program, professional training and supervision, and the overall coordination. A national director, who is a member of the Institute staff, administers the country-wide program, is responsible for its implementation, and acts as a liason between the Institute and the field, while regional coordinators train, supervise and coordinate the local HIPPY projects. In the final model envisioned for the national HIPPY project, the Ministry of Education will become responsible for administration and funding, and the NCJW Research Institute for training and supervision.

The number of projects and activities influenced by HIPPY since its origin in 1969 are considerable. Perhaps the most important is a two year home-instruction program called HATAF (Home Activities for Toddlers and their Families) for very young children, aged fifteen to thirty-six months and their mothers, developed in 1972 by the NCJW Research Institute. Based on the HIPPY model to some extent, the main objective of the program is to influence the intellectual growth of the children by focussing on the mother-child interactive process. It attempts to stimulate the mother's awareness of the importance of her role as socializer and to strengthen and develop skills and attitudes which will facilitate the intellectual growth of the child. Specific attention is directed to the following: an understanding of the abilities and limitations of the child at various stages of development (attention span, skills, and role play); the need for verbal interaction with the child; the need to be encouraging and provide positive reinforcement; the need to use a variety of techniques when playing with the child; and finally, the importance of using these skills and attitudes in the context of the child's daily routine activities-during meals, when dressing, when going for a walk and in play situations.

The program is based on pre-planned play activities in which the mother engages the child. The activities are not an end in themselves; rather they serve as a vehicle through which the interaction between mother and child can be encouraged. A wide variety of play activities are presented which stimulate sensory-motor and language abilities appropriate to the developmental level of the child. They must be fun and utilize either materials which are found in the home or inexpensive commercial toys or books that are provided by the project. Participating families contribute a small monthly sum toward the purchase of materials.

Families are identified from the files of the Tipat Chalav (well-baby) clinics. They are of Afro-Asian origin, the parents have eight to eleven years of schooling on the average and one child who is approximately fourteen months old at the time of intake. Their inclusion in the program is determined following a visit to the home by the local project coordinator who explains the aims of the program to the mother, describes the role she will be expected to undertake and notes the conditions of the home, the willingness of the mother to cooperate and the general level of development of the child.

Project families are visited by a para-professional aide. The aide is the link between the families and the project staff, and she fulfills a complicated role: she serves as a model, guide, and support for the mother; she must be responsive to the individual differences in mothers and children, and to the sensitivities involved in entering another's home. In addition, she has to observe and provide feedback to the staff on the success of the activities and the responses of each mother and child to the program. Effort and time is invested in the search for women who can successfully fulfill this complicated role. Potential candidates are recruited on the basis of recommendations by well-baby clinic nurses and nursery school teachers. They are "successful" mothers who are not working and are considered potentially suitable to fulfill the many-faceted nature of the role of aide. They generally have eleven to twelve years of schooling, seem to be upwardly mobile, yet are sufficiently close to the target population so that they can identify with their problems. Candidates are visited and observed in their own homes by the project coordinator before selection.

Since the functioning of the aides is crucial to the success of the program, they are required to participate in an intensive orientation and on-going weekly supervisory sessions both on a group and an individual basis with the coordinator. Special materials are written for them which help them to understand their role.

During the first year of the program, the aide visits the families assigned to her once a week. She suggests activities and encourages the mother to participate and eventually assume the central role. The aide gives the mother guide sheets which include simple explanations of the value of various activities and suggestions for variation and expansion. At each home visit, the aide reviews the previous week's activities with the mother and discusses the difficult or simple, more pleasurable aspects of her experience. She also plays with the child and observes his progress in the mastery of the target skills.

During this year, mothers attend a group meeting once a month where the group coordinator leads discussions on general topics related to child-rearing and encourages the mothers to share the experiences and problems they have encountered with their child: jealousy, fears, sleep problems and toilet training, to mention several.

In the second year of the program, families are visited at home every two weeks instead of each week. On alternate weeks, the mothers meet in group sessions and, in addition to reviewing their child's responses over the past week and preparing activities for the coming week, they discuss selected educational topics related to the activities themselves: ow to select appropriate books for young children, the importance of dramatic play, how to use the kitchen as a place for children to learn.

Several pilot studies have been conducted since HATAF's conception, and reports evaluating them will appear shortly. The observations made during these studies provided the framework for field operation programs. During the year 1977-1978, a group of forty families completed the program, and currently, a second group of eighty families, some from outside the Jerusalem area, are involved.

An extensive evaluation of the HATAF program is scheduled to begin in the autumn of 1979. Information will be gathered on the child's intellectual development, changes in the style of mother-child interactions, mothers' knowledge of child development, her skills in educational activities with her children, and her self-concept. Also the influence on younger siblings will be explored. Data will be collected until the eldest child reaches the age of five and a follow-up study will be continued for as long as is feasible.

At the same time that HATAF was being developed, other research connected with HIPPY was being undertaken. A new three-year HIPPY study was sponsored by the NCJW Research Institute in Jerusalem in the autumn of 1971. Concerning the new model (that including a group factor), early findings appear to confirm the results of the Hatikva study; disadvantaged children who participate in "Home Instruction" achieve at a higher level at the end of the first grade than their classmates.*

After HIPPY was expanded through the Welfare Program to a large number of families, an evaluation study was undertaken to determine whether the same kind of positive results which occurred in the small Hatikva study could be replicated. The question had to be asked if, without the close personal contact, enthusiasm and supervision given by the research staff in the experimental situation, would the project still maintain its quality and effectiveness. To determine this, target children were given achievement tests in Hebrew and math at the end of the first, second and third grades, and their classroom behavior was evaluated by their teachers through the Classroom Behavior Inventory, which is divided into eight categories: a) social behavior, b) motivation to learn, c) activity-passivity, d) discipline, e) self-esteem, f) attention, g) attitude towards the teacher and h) verbal intelligence. In addition, a test of concept formation was administered individually to some of the sample children at the end of the second and third grades.

The research sample included four different groups in order to allow for anticipated problems arising from the possible dissimilarities between the experimental and control groups and for the overall change that might take place in academic standards during the years of the research. The group of children who participated in the HIPPY program formed the experimental group and as similar as possible a group of other children who were not in the program made up the first control group. All the siblings of the children of both groups who were in grades one, two or three when the research began comprised the second and third control groups. In all, there were seven hundred and eleven subjects at the beginning of the research.

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* The data for the Jerusalem study is to be published in the near future.

The research is now in its fourth year, and the first of three reports which compare the progress of the experimental group to the control group has been completed. It was found that participation in the HIPPY program did in fact have a significant effect on the target children as measured by achievement on the Hebrew and math tests at the end of first grade or in other words, at the end of the experimental intervention (see Table Three). Thus, while it was found that the achievement level of the two younger groups was lower in general than that of the older siblings,* that of the children who had participated in HIPPY was relatively higher than that of those children who had not participated in HIPPY (approximately one standard deviation in the Hebrew test and sixty percent of a standard deviation in math). Geographical location (in a major city, an outlying development town or a *moshav*), and sex of children in the sample were not related to the effectiveness of the program, although the data seemed to indicate that the program had more success in non-religious communities.

The next two reports will concentrate on how HIPPY has affected children both one and two years after the intervention has ended. They will include an analysis of the data on the Classroom Behavior Inventory, as well (only at the end of the current year will comparative data from the older siblings be available on the Inventory) and any general recommendations for change or modification suggested by the researchers. Meantime the results on the first years of the research have shown that HIPPY has a positive effect on its participants even when large numbers of families and staff are involved. This has given all those concerned with the project a strong feeling of optimism and the encouragement to try and expand the project further in order to reach as many families who can benefit from it as possible.

One practical result of HIPPY is the children's game, STEP-BY-STEP, created from the program materials by Dr. Lombard and Mrs. H. Levy for three-to-six-year-olds. STEP-BY-STEP emphasizes learning through play. Designed to expand the child's knowledge of counting, shape re-

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* The researchers have no adequate explanations for this finding at present. They think that it might be connected to the fact that second children are often born very soon after the first and do not get appropriate attention.

TABLE THREE

Difference in Marks in Hebrew and in Math
Between the Target Children and their Older Siblings*

	mean difference	standard deviation s.d	t-test t	degrees of freedom df	p-value (1-tailed) p
Hebrew					
Experimental**	-2.83	11.28	2.91	68	.003
Control	-11.78	11.19			
Math					
Experimental**	-6.00	33.01	1.72	67	.045
Control	-21.17	29.31			

* positive numbers mean younger siblings performed better than the older siblings, and negative ones the opposite.
** participated in the HIPPY program

cognition, color, and problems associated with the actual playing of the game (throwing dice, scoring, playing by turns), it has proved to be a most effective way for children to learn.

The importance of playing games for the intellectual and social development of the child has been recognized by educators and researchers, and, as a result of this, many Toy Libraries have been initiated throughout the country. They began to appear in Israel under the auspices of the Ministries of Education and Labor and Social Welfare. Parents of children from kindergarten to grade two were invited to participate on a voluntary basis in a ten week course where they were taught the educational value of playing games with children and were then given games to take home (e.g. domino. monopoly, lego, puzzles). With the inauguration of the Welfare Program of the Ministry of Education, the Toy Library·project has been substantially expanded.

In 1975, the Ministry of Education commissioned the NCJW Research Institute to assess the impact of the program. The results of the research indicated that, although there was a great deal of enthusiasm generated by it, the project had little influence on the academic performance of children in kindergarten, first and second grades and made no appreciable difference in the mother's view of herself as an educator. In light of these findings, the researchers suggested the re-examination of the aims and structure of the Toy Libraries.

Finally, the NCJW Research Institute, drawing on its experience with disadvantaged children, has been actively involved in the development of an instructional television program focussing on ways in which the family can deal with problems of "everyday education." The first bi-weekly television series, shown in 1977-1978, concentrates on children from infancy to six years of age in the family setting. Dealing with different subjects such as imagination, self-concept and sibling rivalry, it attempts to help families live more productively together. It is supplemented in the field by discussion groups for parents who have viewed the program and wish to share their opinions with other parents. Counsellors, who are hired to coordinate these discussion groups, distribute program packets to the participants consisting of the television script and related material designed to encourage them to become involved with the program's issues in their own home setting without the presence of the counsellor. This year's television series (1978-1979) deals with the problems of adolescents, and members of the NCJW Research Institute staff have again assumed the role of scientific consultants.

In summary, what ten years ago was an experimental study of the NCJW Research Institute with forty-eight "Home Instructed" participants has mushroomed into a national project involving thousands of families as well as influenced the development of other related projects. The importance of HIPPY lies in the fact that it is an intervention program which utilizes the family, the mother in particular, as educator. Although there are other such projects elsewhere, it is partially because of a unique situation in Israel that such a project can be effective. Jewish values, which speak, among other things, of the importance of family and education, have much influence even in the disadvantaged sector of the population, and the family as a unit has maintained its structure for the most part. This makes using it as a vehicle for change possible and partially accounts for the very positive reaction to such programs as HIPPY. It is hoped that the Institute's work in this area has contributed to the development of Israeli society and also to the future integration of children from disadvantaged families in other places in the world.

CHAPTER THREE

NACHLAOT
An Experiment in Elementary School Integration

Principal Researchers: Zeev Klein, Hebrew University
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NACHLAOT
An Experiment in Elementary School Integration

Two of Jerusalem's older neighborhoods, Rehavia and Nachlaot, are contiguous geographically, although their character is totally different. Rehavia is an area of stone houses, of well-kept gardens and quiet streets, while Nachlaot is one with many twisting little alleys and streets overlooked by balconies where women are talking, the day's laundry is on the line, and lots of children are playing underfoot. Many of the inhabitants of Rehavia are old-timers of European-American origin, some of whom have been significant in the shaping of Israel's history, and who live comfortable lives influenced by the heritage of their Western culture. The community of Nachlaot is made up for the most part of Jews of Afro-Asian origin whose original culture emphasized different values and norms than those of the dominant Western culture, and who often have the sense that they do not belong to the mainstream of Israeli society. While status and good financial conditions are prevalent in Rehavia, many of Nachlaot's people are poor and conform to the stereotype of the disadvantaged in Israel, even though today its population, and to some extent its socio-economic status, is changing. In past years, Nachlaot's children did not do well in school, and the resulting feeling of frustration was emphasized by the proximity of successful neighbors in Rehavia. Some Nachlaot parents were convinced that it was the mediocrity of the schools in their neighborhood which was responsible for their children's lack of achievement, while the prestigious schools of Rehavia seemed to promise success to all those who attended them.

Because of these feelings, the Nachlaot parents organized themselves in 1966, a very unusual occurrence in disadvantaged neighborhoods in those years, demanding that the area's elementary schools be integrated They were convinced that their children would succeed if they were given the opportunity to learn in better schools. Shocked into action by their request, the municipality of Jerusalem decided to re-examine its school districting policies. The fact that the school populations of Rehavia and Nachlaot mirrored the social structure of the area, as do all neighborhood schools, and in fact divided children quite distinctly along the lines of ethnic origin, was a very disturbing one. Both the sensitivity of the issue and the strength of the pressure group formed by the Nachlaot parents brought about a decision to integrate the schools, one way of dealing with what could have been a very explosive political and ideological problem. It was also a recognition by educational policy makers that indeed there was unequal educational practice in the city of Jerusalem.

The schools in the Nachlaot area were thus integrated by administrative decree in 1968 as part of an "experimental" project. This standing gave them unusual freedom and resources, but also made them different from other schools, a fact which often made the staff feel isolated in its search for relevant and effective educational techniques. The Ministry of Education and the Jerusalem Municipality preferred at the outset to relate to the project as an experiment so that, pending future results, a precedent was not set prematurely for the whole city.

Before dealing with the specifics of the project, it is perhaps valuable to bring up some general problems concerning integration and its evaluation in educational settings. The debate over school integration has attracted much attention because the issue involved is a very basic one: the right of each individual to equal opportunity in all aspects of life. School integration, which should provide equal educational opportunity, should in fact be a natural process occurring as a result of true integration in the society. The reality, however, is quite different. Because immigrants came from very different backgrounds and geographical locations, as has been mentioned in the introduction, there are divisions in the society which express themselves in communities or even whole towns with different characteristics, such as Nachlaot and Rehavia. Often these communities are homogeneous and, as such, their schools take on the characteristics of the student body, the quality differing greatly from place to place (even though the educational system is a national one attempting to provide uniform services). Moreover, where the schools are made up of disadvantaged students, and consequently almost always have a low achievement level, there is a danger of perpetuating educational failure instead of remedying it. This situation is intolerable in the context of an egalitarian society which cannot sustain such inequalities over a long period of time.

Attitudes of some middle-class parents are an important factor as well; they see scholastic success as of ultimate importance to their children's lives. Because of this, they want the best and highest status schools for their children (as almost all parents do), and consequently it is difficult to convince them that an integrated school is satisfactory, even though it would seem their professed values would make them support the idea. It is known that some parents in Jerusalem have even changed their addresses in order that their children not be part of an integration program, making it difficult at times to maintain the desired proportion of children from different backgrounds.

Another confusing problem related to this is that relatively little is known throughout the world about the actual educational effects of integration. Some educators state that integration is beneficial for disadvantaged populations and is effective in improving their intellectual achievement and influencing their social behavior. There are others, however, who state that it is rather the educational content of a given classroom that influences academic achievement and that changing the composition of the student body does not suffice in itself. Concerning middle-class children, many researchers have posited that they will do well in almost any framework, probably because of the preparation and support received in the home and will not consequently suffer academically in integrated settings. Although these findings have been subject to much debate and are not definitive, they in fact encouraged educators to believe that the experimental integration in Jerusalem would be possible and provided some guidelines for establishing the program.

Integrated education is in fact very problematic where evaluation is concerned. First of all, integration is essentially a political and moral notion and, as such, is usually decided upon by politicians in response to different kinds of pressures rather than by educators seeking to arrive at certain specific goals. Because of this, it occurs first on the administrative level, and accompanying educational practices are often secondary and difficult to isolate and research. In not a few cases, the educational aspect has also been carried out ineffectively, making it impossible to assess its possible influence. Consequently, policy makers with the best intentions have often had to base their decisions on insufficient data, and educators have not had specific enough information to help them in shaping the day-to-day educational reality of the integrated classroom.

Nancy St. John, an American researcher, has brought up some specific methodological difficulties encountered in trying to evaluate the effects of integration.* Some of them concern the sampling process (how to make the sample representative), the lack of appropriate control groups, and the need for long-term follow-up research as opposed to one-time "cross-sectional" studies, which do not examine the influence of educational intervention over a sufficient period of time. She also speaks of the difficulty of comparing different sets of research findings since they have been determined in different settings and often with different methodological tools. Many of these problems stem from the fact that the researcher himself rarely participates actively in the design of the integration program. More often than not, he must adapt his instruments of analysis to the existing social, political and educational dimensions of integrated settings. Often, and even more serious, these methodological limitations are not taken into account when the results of a study are published and then cited by other researchers to justify different positions. Consequently, there has not been, for the most part, rigorous and systematic accumulation of information about the integration process.

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* N. St. John, "Desegregation and Minority Performance," *Review of Educational Research* 40, (1970) pp. 111-124.

Taking these problems into consideration, the Nachlaot Project was established in 1969. The power to make policy decisions was invested in an executive committee composed of representatives from the government and the Hebrew University to insure input from both policy-makers and scholars. Influenced by the findings of American integration studies, the committee decided that the classrooms should all be heterogeneous. The findings of James Coleman's* large research project had suggested that middle-class children could influence the general atmosphere of the classroom and serve as effective models for their disadvantaged peers. This was perhaps best carried out when children from the extremes of each socio-economic grouping were not put in the same classroom, but sometimes that situation could not be prevented, even when the school population was re-districted as carefully as possible.

The resulting heterogeneous classrooms made apparent the difficult problem of how to deal with a very wide range of student ability, I.Q., knowledge, and capacity to pay attention. It was clear that special curricula would have to be devised and that the teaching staff be retrained. In order to confront these challenges, the executive committee called on several Israeli educators for advice. Prominent among them was Professor Avram Minkowich of the School of Education of the Hebrew University, a specialist both in education of the disadvantaged and in didactics. He suggested adopting a special plan of classroom interventions, known as the "activity classroom"** that had already been developed and applied to several pre-school settings in Israel, and which would provide an appropriate framework for the experiment.

In activity classrooms children are divided into small groups which study and undertake tasks together; in the Nachlaot Project, they were always integrated. Such classrooms are characterized by an informal atmosphere and relatively flexible time-table, encouraging the child to learn according to his own ability and pace. They emphasize the importance of the child's self-directed activity in the learning process and shift the role of the teacher from authority figure to facilitator and resource person. The ideal curricula for these classrooms stress broad cognitive skills and personal development rather than the acquisition of specific skills and memory tasks (it should be noted, however, that the "experimental" schools were not exempted from the required national curriculum) and provide alternatives from which children can choose. Informal groupings come together and disband around many different activities, diminishing the need for strict division by ability level. Assignments frequently require cooperation among pupils in order to be successfully carried out, and definitions of "success" are not uniform. During the day, teachers can help the children who are most in need of assistance, and the child can request help when he needs it. Traditional teaching in lecture-type format is minimized and replaced by a stimulating environment in the classroom with a greater availability of diversified learning materials.

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* J.S. Coleman, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Press, 1956.

** Activity classrooms are physically similar to the infant school arrangement in England or to variations of the "open classroom" in the United States where frontal teaching is not predominant.

Although experience with the activity classroom had been accumulated at the pre-school level with middle-class populations, it was not clear what its effect would be on disadvantaged children at the elementary school level nor exactly how to adapt it to the new situation. Teachers who had already established activity-based classrooms were consequently invited as consultants to Jerusalem. Enthusiastically, they began to re-design the curricula and create a training program for the new teachers. Their recommendation that a second half-time teacher be assigned to each classroom to help children in need of special attention was accepted. This was a significant contribution on the part of the Ministry of Education, since it made the teacher-student ratio smaller than in other elementary schools. As the project progressed, other compensatory educational techniques, quite segregative in nature, usually found in schools for the disadvantaged, were thought to be unnecessary, and were cancelled. This included ability grouping within the classroom, the "long school day", (middle-class children frequently use these additional hours to go to piano lessons or the Youth Movement), and the special "treatment" class for children who could not manage in the ordinary classroom.

Four schools were chosen by the Ministry of Education for the experimental project, two in Rehavia and two in Nachlaot. The two schools in Rehavia were to be integrated by bringing Nachlaot children into them and were to have activity-classrooms, whereas the two schools in Nachlaot were to remain homogeneous; that is, with a student body drawn solely from the Nachlaot area. The two Nachlaot schools, however, were to institute the activity-classrooms as an educational technique. The design of the project called for successive waves of first grade students to be integrated into the two Rehavia schools (in a 60% to 40% ratio in each classroom, which was thought to be the most effective ratio of middle-class students to disadvantaged students), until finally they would be integrated fully from grades one to six.

Visitors to the project in the first years were impressed by the busy and comfortable atmosphere in the classroom. Small groups of children were very absorbed in different activities, and here and there an individual child could be seen reading in the corner on a rug or talking with an adult. Parents were invited to visit freely and participate with their children or talk to the teachers. Upon closer observation, however, differences between Rehavia and Nachlaot children could be detected even by the untrained eye, sometimes because of dress and appearance, but mostly because of differences in capacity to deal with the learning material presented. The Nachlaot children often had difficulty expressing themselves or generalizing from specific information or classifying objects or understanding the meaning of what they were reading. What was very apprent, however, was the dedication of the teachers as they attempted to eliminate the differences between groups of children: under the leadership of the school principals and program coordinators, they held meetings late into the day and sometimes in the evening to create new materials, discuss specific problems and decide on general policy in the activity classroom.*

Particularly because of its experimental nature and because of the importance of the issue involved, the NCJW Research Institute staff had been very interested in the project from the time of its inception. It took, however, two years for the executive committee responsible for the project to agree that research or an evaluation should begin. This was, on the one hand, because of the problems involved in setting up the actual project itself, but, on the other, because of some fear of the results of such a study. Would middle-class students achieve less well than in other frameworks? Would disadvantaged students really achieve better? Would they feel inferior? In any case, the staff of the Institute had always believed that intervention in school should occur at the earliest age possible, and it welcomed the chance to study the effects of integration in the early grades. The staff also decided to become involved concurrently in other areas of the project, and it assumed responsibility for teacher training in the schools for several years. It helped as well to prepare and disseminate some of the materials necessary in such a flexible classroom. Although these efforts were secondary to those of the Ministry of Education which eventually took them over entirely, they brought the staff of the Institute very close to the project and provided some University-based guidance and support for its hard-working teachers. Several of the senior Institute staff members were asked at that point to serve on the decision-making executive committee, which gave the Institute an opportunity to contribute to general policy concerning integration.

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* Nachlaot parents took great pride in their children's schooling and viewed it as the opportunity for them to become successful. In fact, sometimes they pressured their children to such an extent that they demanded of them more than they could tolerate. Although the pressure caused by their high expectations was reduced over time, they continued to expect more of their project children than of others, an attitude which often had very positive results.

Late in 1970, the Ministry of Education officially asked the NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education to evaluate the Nachalot Project. Drs. Zeev Klein, and Yochanan Eshel, both psychologists, agreed to undertake the study, attempting to design it in such a way as to take into account the problems mentioned above concerning research of integrated education. They decided on a longitudinal design which would also examine short-term effects both in educational achievements and attitudes.

The study began in 1971 and continued for five years. The sample of children was divided into two groups: lower-class and middle-class. A "lower-class" student (a term more or less equal to "disadvantaged" student) was so classified if his father had no more than eight years of schooling, if his occupation was in the blue-collar range, and if his family originated from one of the North African or Middle-Eastern Islamic countries. On the other hand, all pupils whose fathers had more than eight years of education, had white-collar occupations, and were of European-American origin were designated as middle-class. Since both neighborhoods, Nachlaot and Rehavia, as noted, were relatively homogeneous, the application of these criteria meant that, in effect, students from Nachlaot were in the lower-class bracket, while students from Rehavia were in the middle-class category.

In order to assess the impact of the experiment, the researchers chose matching schools within Jerusalem as control groups for comparative purposes. The research sample included the integrated school setting versus the non-integrated one; the activity classroom setting versus the traditional classroom; and a lower-class student body versus a middle-class one. Lower-class children in the homogeneous experimental schools and the control schools were compared to each other and found to be similar in all respects and similar also to the lower-class children entering the integrated schools. This was true for the middle-class children in the different settings as well, a fact which provided a solid basis for later statistical comparisons. In total, 4,311 children participated in the five-year longitudinal study as part of either a control group or an experimental one, and they were classified under one of the following eight sub-groups:

1. Middle class children in integrated classrooms with special intervention (MIP)
2. Middle class children in integrated classrooms without special intervention (MI)

3. Middle class children in homogeneous classrooms with special intervention (MP)
4. Middle class children in homogeneous classrooms without special intervention (M)
5. Lower class children in integrated classrooms with special intervention (LIP)
6. Lower class children in integrated classrooms without special intervention (LI)
7. Lower class children in homogeneous classrooms with special intervention (LP)
8. Lower class children in homogeneous classrooms without special intervention (L)

Following is a summary of the data collected. Each child in the sample was tested in mathematics and reading each year of the study. These tests were group-administered during school hours in the last month of each school year to those students who were present in their classrooms on the testing day. They were administered by a special team trained by the researchers rather than by teachers in order to avoid possible bias. Data were also collected on each student with regard to self-image and sociometric standing at each grade level.* Part of the measure of self-image was a prediction by the students of what their scores in language and arithmetic would be at the end of the year. Concerning the sociometric measure, the pupils were asked to indicate those classmates with whom they generally study and prepare homework and those with whom they play during recess periods. Extensive classroom observations were also carried out to determine the nature of everyday activity in the school. Finally, additional data were collected on attitudes through formal and informal interviews with participating students, teachers, principals, and officials of the Ministry of Education and Jerusalem Municipality.

Analysis of the data focused on several areas. One was the achievement level of both lower and middle-class pupils. Another was the self-image of lower class students, in particular when confronted with others who were "different" from them. The last concerned the attitude resulting from the contact between pupils from different social classes and cultural backgrounds.**

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* Sociometry refers to the study of group structure and social distance in terms of the personal preference of the members of a group for each other, and, in terms of who wants to associate with whom and under what conditions.

** The analysis of the sociometric data is still in progress and will consequently not be mentioned in the subsequent discussion.

Concerning achievement, it was found that lower-class children achieved better in integrated settings than did their lower-class peers in non-integrated settings, although this finding was not consistently significant over time nor has it been replicated in other research projects using a nationwide sample. When middle-class children were considered as a group, there was no consistent difference in achievement as compared to their middle-class peers in non-integrated settings (see IIllustration One). In integrated settings with activity classrooms, the lower-class group achieved consistently higher than did their lower-class peers in any of the other sub-groups (see Illustration Two). In fact, these children were performing at levels similar to the average of pupils throughout the country, and this held true until the last year that the tests were administered (Grade Six).

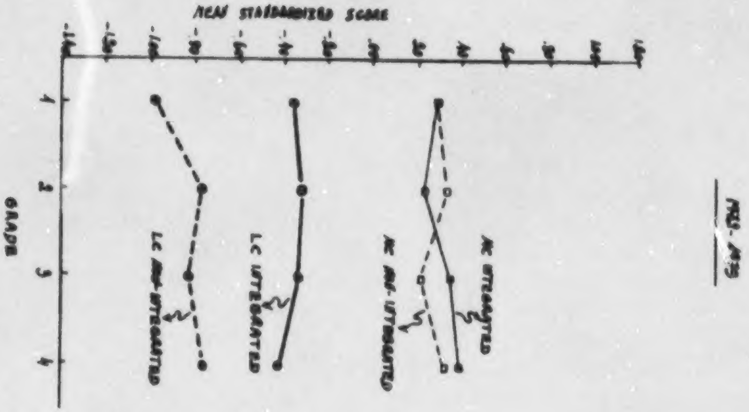
The gap in achievement level among the four sub-groups of middle-class children was not consistently different over the school years in mathematics. One specific finding was that middle-class children in integrated settings without the activity classroom did not reach the level of achievement attained by the other sub-groups of middle-class children until the later years of schools. Middle-class children in integrated classes with the activity input, however, not infrequently scored the highest among the middle-class groups studied (see Illustration Two).

In summary, it becomes clear that the integrated classroom setting affected the achievement level of lower-class children most positively and consistently when there was an activity classroom or, in other words, when there was an appropriate educational technique and atmosphere accompanying the administrative re-organization. On the other hand, it seems that integration was in fact a pre-condition for the activity class to be effective for the lower-class child (see Illustration Two). This perhaps is a result of the way these classes were carried out in Israel or perhaps gives support to the theory that "open education" of different kinds can depress the achievement of lower-class children in homogeneous settings. Both of these interpretations need to be further examined to determine their validity.

Tests measuring self-image were important for a number of reasons. Many researchers believe that the self-image of the lower-class child is likely to be negatively affected by integration, since often the cognitive demands of the curriculum are beyond the child's capabilities and make him feel inadequate in comparison to his middle-class peers. One problem with self-concept testing is, the researchers further argue, that there are often no objective measures to check subjective feelings with, and consequently no way to determine whether self-image scores reflect illusory or realistic expectations or perceptions. In this research, academic self-concept, as determined by grades students predicted they would get,

Illustration One

Fig. 1-2: Achievement scores of integrated and non-integrated MC and LC pupils (MATHEMATICS)



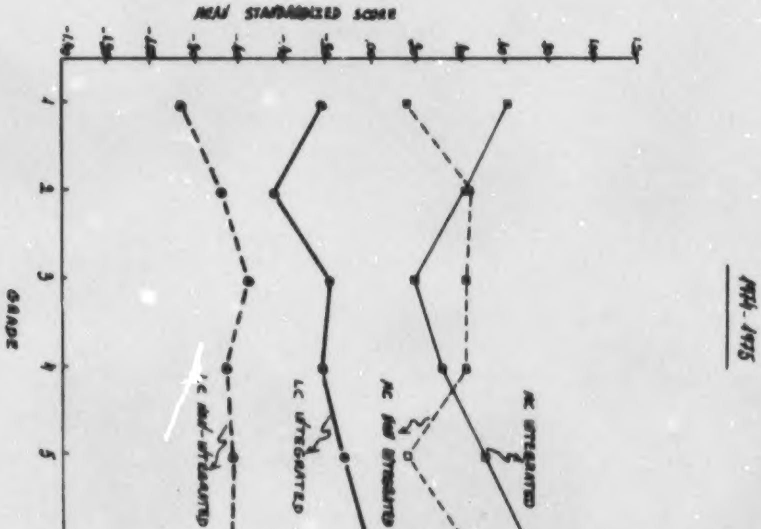
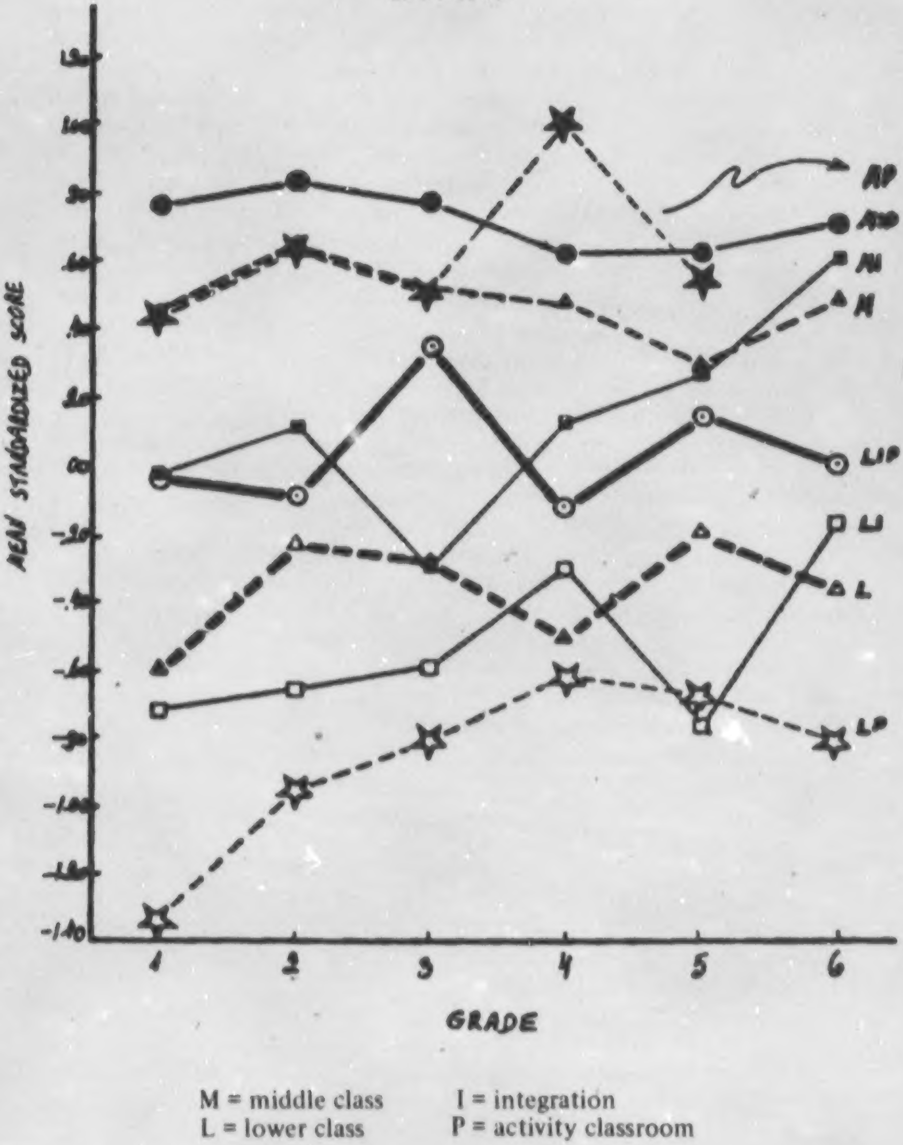


Illustration Two

Achievement Scores in Mathematics in Different School Settings
1974-1975



M = middle class I = integration
L = lower class P = activity classroom

was compared with both teacher grades and objective test scores in order to deal with this problem. There was also an attempt to see whether the self-concept of disadvantaged students necessarily reflected a sense of failure or inadequacy even when it was unrealistic.

The results were as follows. Almost all children from both social class groups seemed to begin school with a positive view of themselves and in most cases expected that they would do better than they actually did when their self-ratings were compared with their actual grades and scores. Over the years, all expectations became closer to reality, in fact, but those of lower-class children declined more steeply, never arriving, however, at a point where the child showed serious doubt about his abilities. The researchers found, moreover, that lower-class children in integrated classrooms were not very different from their middle-class peers in learning to assess their relative classroom standing correctly. This could well be understood to refute the theory that disadvantaged students necessarily suffer from a poor self-image in integrated settings, or that the gap in achievement levels creates negative feelings. Data show that, in the Nachlaot project, lower class children were aware of the situation, but believed that their achievements were satisfactory.

In their general discussion of the issue, the researchers concluded that there are certain conditions necessary for integration to have the most chance of positive educational outcomes. One of them concerns the nature of the school to be integrated. They suggested that it should be a school of high social status, where the majority of the pupils are middle-class, and where authority figures in the school (teachers and principal) are actively committed to the success of the program. They also suggested that the educational staff be very well prepared and that any necessary additional resources be put at its disposal. A summer workshop would not suffice, for example; it can only serve as the beginning of intensive training for people who need continual support, a forum in which to discuss problems, and the input of experts in the area of curricula and inter-personal relationships in the classroom. The researchers also see integration as a dynamic process which is changing continually, influenced by the ages of the students involved, the location and the passage of time. This means that integration is a different issue today in countries like Israel and the United States than it was ten years ago or will be ten years hence. They recommend that these changes be recorded where possible in an effort to begin to analyze their effects on the educational process.

Numerous unexpected consequences emerged from the Nachlaot experimental project. After the initial success of the project, principals of other Jerusalem elementary schools recognized the benefits of adopting the new intervention program (i.e. activity classrooms) as a tool for improving their students' achievements. Coincidentally, during this same period, the Ministry of Education began to decentralize its control of school administration (concerning content and curriculum), allocating unmarked funds to schools to be used to put new ideas into operation. The activity classroom could thus be instituted quite easily in many schools. Moreover, in the light of the success achieved by the parents from Nachlaot, lower-class parents in other Jerusalem disadvantaged neighborhoods began to speak out, criticizing the quality of the education their children were receiving and demanding improvement. Many of them also requested the chance to register their children in the now prestigious Rehavia schools or at least in integrated schools. The Ministry of Education responded to these parents where possible by telling them that the activity classroom in their present schools was an innovation which would improve the educational environment and achievement of their children. Within three years after the experimental program had begun (1969-1972), Jerusalem primary schools were literally dominated by such classrooms.

This brought about several problems which are interesting to note here, particularly in the context of understanding what directions educational policy can take in certain situations. The activity classroom was, and still is, at a very early stage of development, not having been researched sufficiently to be adopted universally. Furthermore, those established in the non-experimental Jerusalem schools were generally done so without adequate teacher-training or preparation*, and program supervision and follow-up testing was almost non-existent. In addition, the activity classroom had originally been utilized in the integrated setting as a means of helping the disadvantaged in interaction with middle-class students. It was not yet at all clear that such a technique would be beneficial in the homogeneous setting, particularly if there was not sufficient preparation.

Then, in the midlle of the 1970's, another development took place, and its influence has also been difficult to assess. The educational authorities in Jerusalem began to advocate a policy of primary school integration. This change was brought about partly by financial and partly by political considerations. Activity classrooms are expensive to establish and, in the wake of the Yom Kippur War in 1973, funds were scarce. Integration was one clear way of dealing with a growing number of concerned disadvantaged parents demanding equal educational opportunity, and was also an educational policy clearly accepted by the government. As a result, integration was often adopted in Jerusalem without the accompanying activity classrooms or any other appropriate educational techniques, even though there were many people who objected, among them the Institute's researchers. Regardless of such findings as those of the Nachlaot study, the Ministry of Education persisted in this new policy. The redistricting of the school population so that classrooms would be integrated was, of course, seen as a positive development in and of itself; hopefully, in the near future, the schools in Jerusalem will also benefit from the systematic institution of relevant educational techniques.

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* The Ministry of Education has made some attempt to deal with this situation. Many materials have been created for the elementary school and have been catalogued so that teachers can avail themselves of them when necessary. Also the Ministry has set up a number of teacher training courses, and the Hebrew University's School of Education, in cooperation with it, is presently running a seminar to define theoretical concepts related to the activity classroom. Many teachers, however, still receive no guidance as they begin to set up an activity classroom.

In summary, the findings of the Nachlaot experiment certainly encourage integration, particularly when accompanied by appropriate educational techniques. It is clear that the disadvantaged student cannot continue learning in schools with poor facilities, low expectations on the part of the teachers and consistently low achievement scores. The experiment in Jerusalem demonstrates that, when lower-class students are exposed to certain conditions, they can attain significantly higher achievement levels than they might have under normal circumstances and that their experience in the integrated setting is a positive one in general. These findings have brought about some feelings of optimism regarding the educational future of disadvantaged children in Israel, even though it is clear that there are as yet many problems ahead to be faced.

CHAPTER FOUR

INFORMAL EDUCATION
A Case Study of Summer Camps

Principal Researchers: Reuven Kahane, Hebrew University
Tamar Rapoport, Hebrew University

CHAPTER FOUR

INFORMAL EDUCATION
A Case Study of Summer Camps

The period of adolescence is one of transition, a time when physical, emotional and intellectual changes occur simultaneously and in rapid succession. It is a time when people are searching for identity, and their feelings and thoughts are characterized by contrasts and contradictions that often lead to ambivalence and to frustration with themselves and the institutions of society.

During these impressionable years of adolescence, youth organizations of all kinds perform important social functions. They provide a social framework which eases the adolescent's transition from childhood into adulthood. They can be a training ground where values are transmitted and the adolescent has the opportunity to experiment with different patterns of adult behavior and roles. They can provide the young person with an alternative community and the opportunity to transfer a part of his family loyalty to a broader collective entity, a step towards eventual autonomy. Thus, in today's world of rapid social change and cultural pluralism, the youth organization functions as both a socializing agent and as a framework through which young people can express themselves in many different ways.

In their diversity, "youth associations" have often been described as a breeding ground for contradictory phenomena. On the one hand, society utilizes them to guide youth into conforming patterns of behavior. On the other, they can be the social frameworks in which counter-culture, revolutionary, and anti-social behavior is likely to occur. Historical examples have demonstrated that they exist on a continuum which covers the entire spectrum from delinquency to conformity. Their nature is highly dependent on the conditions in which they have developed.

As presented by the Israeli sociologist, Reuven Kahane, there are several theories which have been used to explain under which conditions youth organizations can be predicted to affect the behavior of youth in different ways. Very briefly, they can be divided into three categories. The first, which can be called the "general-societal" theory, refers to the structural and cultural patterns of different societies. Thus, in a society which is culturally pluralistic and undergoing rapid change, for example, it is most likely that vague criteria of behavior and weak institutional frameworks will prevail. One result of this can be youth organizations which encourage anti-social or anti-establishment behavior.

The second type of explanation, which is called the "middle range" one, suggests that different kinds of youth cultures exist because of the fact that in modern societies there are deprived groups or divisions according to social class. As a result, youth associations can be transformed into either delinquent frameworks or ones imbued with a revolutionary spirit because of the existence of a gap, for instance, between what people want and the means at their disposal to get it, which lower class youth might tend to react against, or because of a lag between ideals and reality, which might provoke more middle-class youth to react.

This "middle-range" explanation does not explain the differences in youth behavior or in youth organizations that are found within any one particular class or even in one particular neighborhood. It is possible to turn to the third type of explanation, however, called the "inter-personal", to fill in the missing links. This explanation analyzes the differences in individual and group behavior from a psychological viewpoint. Within this category, the developmental approach claims that youth rebellion and tendency towards deviancy are inherent in the adolescent stage. The "family socialization" approach claims that anti-social behavior may result from neglect or lack of attention from parents, particularly from the father in the case of male children. Psychoanalytic theory combines both of these approaches, explaining youth behavior in terms of the complexity of demands that modern civilization imposes on its members, making the formulation of ego identity a very complex matter.

A completely different position is taken by two Institute researchers, Reuven Kahane and Tamar Rapoport. They believe that by examining the internal structural characteristics of youth organizations, as differentiated from those of other socializing agents such as the school and the family, they can assess their potential impact on youngsters. Because their variety is so great, though, they had to locate common denominators within the wide spectrum on the basis of which they could construct a conceptual framework. This conceptual framework is then used to analyze informal social structures in general, of which youth organizations is one specific example.

While developing the theoretical aspect of their work, the researchers found themselves becoming interested in the practical aspect as well. They began to search for possible ways in which informal organizations could be utilized to enhance social resources, such as innovative capacity, appropriate behavior in different roles, sense of responsibility, and value commitment among youth. Although the model is a general one, the researchers wanted to relate it particularly to the educational problems of the disadvantaged in Israel, because of the fact that the formal school has so often not been successful in imparting skills and resources to this segment of the population. They believe that informal educational frameworks can perhaps provide the necessary alternative or complementary resources. They have thus centered their attention on the impact informal educational frameworks can have on disadvantaged youngsters in their general search for ways of predicting and influencing behavior. Although such theoretical and practical interests are sometimes incompatible and can even involve contradictory elements, the researchers attempt to combine them carefully in their research and field projects.

Israel has a long history of youth organizations. The original ones were the ideologically motivated, pioneering youth movements of the Yishuv. In the days preceding the founding of the State, the educational work of these youth movements strongly affected the developing society of the Jewish community in Palestine. They particularly stressed a sense of personal commitment to Zionism which meant that graduates were expected to direct their lives according to the prevailing ideology. Youth movements were thus of prime importance for the recruitment and training of settlers of the younger generation for future positions of responsibility. Many of the people instrumental in bringing about the birth of the new nation were, in fact, graduates of the movements.

As Israel's rapidly expanding society became more pluralistic after the establishment of the State, however, other types of youth organizations began to proliferate, such as youth clubs, community centers and summer camps, encompassing a wide variety of activities. Thus, over time, the ideological aspect of youth organizations diminished and, concomitantly, many of them became more institutionalized and centrally organized. Consequently, even though their numbers increased, their overall impact was diminished in the process as was their educational status and effectiveness. This can perhaps be explained by both their transition to a more bureaucratic structure and by the more recreational nature of their activities.

The waning influence of informal youth organizations in Israeli society brought up questions which provoked the researchers' intense interest. This was happening as well during a period when there was a general feeling of disappointment about the school's capacity to impart the kind of values necessary to maintain the ideology of Zionism, on the one hand, and deal with the academic failure of part of its student body, as mentioned above, on the other.

Beginning in 1971, data on various types of informal youth organizations in Israel and abroad were collected in order to determine the common denominators from which a theory involving an "ideal type" model could be formulated.* The model created consists of ten dimensions. In the following discussion, three of the ten dimensions will be described at some length so that they can be understood in the context of the experiments conducted by the researchers.**

These dimensions were assumed to represent the basic characteristics of informal organizations. The researchers set out first to find out if this was indeed so and to what extent and at what intensity each one existed. Then they proposed to devise educational strategies and curriculum according to them which, they believed, would make the informal framework more effective at its educational tasks. They are symmetrical interaction, multi-dimensionality and moratorium.

a) Symmetrical Interaction

Symmetrical relationships in informal organizations are characterized by minimal differences in the personal resources of all the participants, including those in leadership roles. Because of this, norms and expectations that emerge among the parties who are participating are reciprocal and not based on personal power. In non-symmetrical relationships the stronger party is able to impose his own terms on the group or the individual. Symmetrical relations, however, must be based on mutually adjusted expectations and principles; the kind of norms which emerge in this setting tend thus to be "moral", almost universal norms agreed to by all participants. Clearly, the informal setting characterized by symmetrical relationships can be viewed as a place where hierarchy and authority become more diffuse and are not basic structural elements as in formal institutions.

b) Multi-dimensionality

Most formal organizations are uni-dimensional in that they are task-oriented and generally concerned with achieving one central goal. In contrast, informal organizations, if they are not created around one central activity, are usually multi-dimensional, offering a wide variety of activities involving different goals. All activities are assigned equal status and importance, whether they are in the physical, intellectual or cultural realm. Thus, the hiker, the soccer player, or the young artist are all considered to be of more or less equal merit. Individual resources are evaluated differentially, and social status is more evenly distributed. Such informal settings, consequently, can provide a valuable means of reinforcing various capabilities of youth.

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* An "ideal type" as used by the researchers, is a conceptualization of elements abstracted from empirical observations but not designed to correspond exactly to empirical reality. It is a methodological technique used to describe, compare and test hypotheses. It carries no connotation of "good" or "bad".

** See Appendix A to this chapter for a brief description of all ten structural dimensions and their predicted impact.

c) Moratorium

Moratorium can be characterized as an institutionalized period of time when obligations are postponed. Through implicit or explicit rules, an environment is created which allows youth the freedom to experience new values, behavioral patterns and adult roles on a trial and error basis, prior to becoming committed to these values. In this way, they are permitted to temporarily deviate from commonly accepted norms, without fear of control from the outside, since all rules are formulated by conscious choice in a peer-controlled environment. Moratorium encourages innovation and independence and allows youth the opportunity to test their capabilities and talents in what amounts to a laboratory setting. It should be noted, however, that moratorium behavior must remain within certain acceptable boundaries which have simply been extended, so that it does not become delinquent or out of control.

Formal organizations such as schools rarely possess any of these structural characteristics. Rewards are not immediate, and there is little opportunity to develop a wide range of skills or achieve status for those which are not intellectually based. Relationships within the classroom are non-symmetrical since the teacher is the undisputed authority figure, and examinations, rules, and compulsory attendance set the tone. In contrast, informal education settings are less hierarchical in terms of authority, have more relaxed regulations for behavior, include much pleasurable activity and are almost entirely voluntary. Emphasis is on individual responsibility and freedom of choice wherever possible. It is interesting to note how the same activity in the formal and informal contexts results in very different experiences for its participants. A compulsory drama class in school will be a peripheral activity, secondary in importance to academic ones; the actor will most likely be influenced by the image he has of himself as a student in the classroom setting when he is performing, and the rules and regulations governing behavior will be those of the institution, with the central authority figure being an adult. In the informal setting, the play, in which youngsters have chosen to participate, will be the major activity of the time, the different rules will be flexible, and the status of the actors will depend on how successfully they fulfill their role.

Each one of the structural dimensions that exist in the informal setting, or a combination of them, can be utilized in any particular context or activity, and their impact will depend on the specific dimension and the resulting involvement and response to the environment created. To understand this process further, a youth organization which could become a "quasi" laboratory had to be found in which the dimensions could be operationalized in specific contexts. The optimum setting had to be both isolated and "total" in order to avoid the confusion of intervening extraneous variables. After examination and analysis of the characteristics of different informal youth organizations, the summer camp was selected as the most appropriate setting. Summer camps offer an isolated, total environment of adequate duration, with a relatively flexible and independent structure. In the intimate group setting created there, certain kinds of personal behavior can be encouraged and social contacts with adults in authority kept at a minimum. The summer camp environment can also be "manipulated" twenty-four hours a day if so desired, thus allowing a wide range of programs to be introduced.

In close cooperation with the Ministry of Education, the research team took over the operation of a number of summer camps. Among the immediate problems was how to translate theory into a natural setting. For example, how was a program around the idea of symmetrical relationships to be set up and who would be part of a staff which would be adequately trained to implement such a program? Or how could the concept of moratorium be emphasized, given the usual camp activities expected by the campers?

The different stages of the study spanned a period of four years (1973-1976), the beginning of which was devoted to finding solutions to these kinds of problems and constructing and pre-testing the research tools among different segments of the population. Beginning in 1974, pilot research was carried out, and some of the techniques to be used in the subsequent studies were developed. In 1975, a small sample of 138 youngsters was chosen and divided into two matched groups, the experimental and the control. In 1976, the sample was enlarged to include 400 subjects divided among ten camps.

Half of the camps surveyed, the "experimental" ones, were structured in such a way as to build a number of unique informal codes described earlier into the framework of the camp as a whole and into the nature of its various activities. Conversely, the control group (regular camps) followed the standard program which was essentially recreational, with activities instructed by professionals. During the "follow-up" testing, a group of "non-campers" was added for comparison. All the experimental and control camps included male and female campers who had been attending youth clubs during the school year. The majority of the participants were in junior high school (grades seven to nine), although there were some in sixth grade and others in the tenth grade. All were from disadvantaged backgrounds and between the ages of twelve and sixteen. The general hypothesis was that the influence of the camp on the campers in a number of areas (to be defined later) would be directly related to the intensity of the informality of the camp as defined by the structural dimensions.

The research design was based on both cross-sectional and longitudinal comparisons. On the one hand, it consisted of a comparison between the experimental and control camps and between different kinds of experimental camps, and, on the other hand, it involved "before", "after", and "follow-up" tests. Testing for the longitudinal study took place in three phases: first day of camp, last day of camp and four months after the end of camp. In the follow-up testing, a group of "non-campers" was frequently utilized for comparative purposes. Following is a brief description of the experimental programs and a review of the findings from the 1975 and 1976 studies.

One of the experimental camps in the summer of 1975 was situated in the beautiful valley of Ein Karem in Jerusalem. Here 40 campers from Ofakim, a development town in the Negev, and five counsellors participated in the program. The campers were ninth and tenth grade students from both vocational and academic school programs. The counsellors were recruited and trained by the NCJW Research Institute staff before the camp began through discussions and simulated conditions.

The camp lasted eighteen days and emphasized two particular dimensions, moratorium and multi-dimensionality. It instituted a curriculum which allowed the campers an opportunity to examine a variety of adult roles within various work situations. The youth were encouraged to learn about the role through trying it out themselves in simulated conditions ("moratorium") and through exposure to the adults who performed these roles in their day-to-day lives. It was felt that the youth could understand more in depth the various dimensions of the role and the internal laws governing its structure as a result of experiencing it in a variety of ways (multi-dimensionality).

The activities were structured to include three progressive stages, the personal, the institutional and the public stages. In the personal setting, the campers were asked to act out the role of a selected adult, like that of a bus driver or a policewoman. In each case the camper would act out his perception of the function of each role. The "bus driver" might pretend that he was driving, or selling tickets to passengers, or examining objects which might contain explosives or talking to passengers who asked for information. The other campers in this group would then criticize his perception of the role.

In the next phase of the personal stage, the camper was given the opportunity to observe the adult who performs this role in real life through "participant observation" (that is, by riding the bus with the bus driver or by accompanying the policewoman on her beat). During this phase, in addition to observing the adult's social interactions, the camper would interview him. The third and final phase of the personal setting involved a reevaluation by the camper of a particular role in the presence of his peers in the light of his "actual" experience of the role.

This phase also encouraged the camper to analyze what conflicts might be instrinsic to the role. For example, since a policewoman might also be a mother, how would she react if she caught her own daughter stealing?

In the second stage, the institutional, the campers were presented with four institutional environments: an employment office (a service institution), the army (an involuntary military institution), the civil guard (a voluntary military institution), and a tea house (a "cultural" institution providing pleasure). In each case the camper met with the personnel who were employed by these institutions. Then, in simulated conditions, the camper was expected to act out various roles and assume specific responsibilities within the particular context of the institutional framework he had chosen. He might be asked to be a private in the army for example, and thus experience the obligations required of one, an experience which might be of special importance and interest to him because, in several years time, he would have to assume the role in reality.

Finally, in the third phase, the public one, the campers were asked collectively to plan and promote a social-cultural event for disadvantaged children of a selected Jerusalem suburb. They decided to have a carnival, with rides, games and refreshments. They had the responsibility of promoting the event, by contacting public officials, parents and children, and of coordinating the programming. During the carnival, they operated all the concessions and afterwards made sure that the area was cleaned up and in order. The event proved to be a big success and served as the culmination of the two first stages. Thus the campers progressed from acting out roles in simulated, "protected" settings to actually performing them autonomously in a real setting with all the demands and responsibilities that are involved.

It was assumed that these three stages would serve to give the adolescent a broad understanding of various adult roles, the principles of which could be utilized both in his present life, by helping him to relate to adults in his environment, and, in future life, when he would have to fulfill the roles himself. It was also hoped that this process would reveal and nurture various latent personal resources, since each camper had the opportunity to enact many different kinds of roles. Excellence in the performance of any one of them brought respect and status to the camper, since all the roles were presented as being of more or less equal value.

Data were collected on several variables on which the various structural dimensions, having been translated into curricular terms, might have an impact. To determine the effect "moratorium" and "multi-dimensionality" had had on role perception, for example, role awareness was measured by determining the number of roles each camper perceived that it was possible for him to play. The data showed that the participants of both the experimental and control camps had identical scores on the pre-test, but that, at the end of the camp period, the differences between the two groups was significant; the former was aware of thirteen more roles on the average than the latter, a difference which was maintained also in the "follow-up" phase of testing. Based on this and similar findings, the researchers concluded that training and active participation in a variety of social roles according to the principles of "moratorium" and "multi-dimensionality" increases both the breadth of the participants' perception of the role and his motivation and capacity to achieve it.

Concerning another aspect of "multi-dimensionality", a sociometric questionnaire was administered which revealed a network of interpersonal relations which had been developed according to three criteria; friendship, appreciation, and degree of activity. Each camper was asked to rank three members of his summer camp according to these three indicators. The findings indicated that the experimental group developed interpersonal relationships based on more diverse criteria than the control group. The researchers conclude, thus, that the range of activities offered in a multi-dimensional setting creates more opportunities for varied personal interests of the campers to be expressed, and for different kinds of skills and achievements to be recognized as important. This influences in turn the criteria according to which friends are chosen.

The second experimental camp in 1975 was also attended by disadvantaged youth from Ofakim. Ninety-four youth entering grades six and seven were selected as campers and twenty youth entering grades nine to eleven were selected as counsellors. This ten-day camp was established in Ashkelon in a beautiful location with access to the Mediterranean Sea. It focused on the dimension of "symmetrical relationships" through a curriculum emphasizing creativity, which was thought would be enhanced in an informal framework. The counsellors were trained during the four-day period preceding the beginning of the camp and were taught both the aims of the theoretical model and the method of conducting creativity games. The training program used simulated conditions and emphasized various means of promoting the camper's autonomy and self-confidence. This in combination with the small size of the groups (one counsellor to five campers), and the minimal age difference between campers and counsellors, contributed to the development of symmetrical relationships during the program. Moreover, if the campers did not approve of the way a counsellor fulfilled his role, they could vote to replace him.

The curriculum involving the development of innovative capacity consisted of a number of games selected from a series developed by one of the researchers of the NCJW Research Institute, Amos Goor. All of them had a set time limit and well-defined rules within which it was impossible to experiment. The games relied on personal experience and encouraged different kinds of imaginative responses.

One of them stressed sensory displacement by requiring the participants to transform information received through one of the senses and express it by means of another. For example, one person had to dance the sound of a bell, not as a pantomime of its physical attributes, but as a concrete representation of its abstract auditory quality. Or, at another level, dancing "beauty" did not involve dancing beautifully, but conveying the idea or feeling of beauty. Other such exercises included drawing noise, sculpting metaphors or drawing a story only of lines based on words. In each of these games, the participants would first offer their interpretation and then discussion would ensue. They themselves decided on the validity of their answers, and campers and counsellors, who had just a little more experience with such activities, participated on a more or less equal basis.

A second creativity game was called "visits from outer space". This game was based on transforming the familiar into the strange. The campers tried to make new combinations from known elements in order to observe familiar objects in different perspectives. In the first phase of this game, the participant was to look at a familiar object as if it were totally strange and new to him and list all the sensory perceptions he experienced. The campers were encouraged to think of themselves as astronauts visiting other worlds. They would list what they saw, felt, smelled, heard and tasted while experiencing this "new" object. For example, they might describe a chair as brown, angular, with short legs, lacking a smell, cold to the touch, smooth, soundless, and unless moved, still. During the second phase of the game, the "astronauts" had to offer conclusions about the alien world based upon their observations. The participants cooperated in order to accumulate the maximum amount of data in their effort to posit valid conclusions about the newly-observed world. In all games, imagination, cooperation and ingenuity were emphasized.

Two kinds of measures were used to assess the impact of the campers' experience on their capacity to be innovative or creative, one in the cognitive area and one in the area of personality. The results at the end of the camp period indicated that the experimental group achieved significantly higher scores on the majority of the tests.* Moreover, a comparison of the follow-up scores, between the control group and the experimental group collected four months later, yielded unexpected results, where the scores of experimental group increased significantly. The researchers believe that this was due to the fact that many of the "experimental" campers continued to play creativity games voluntarily after the camp period, either at home or during the breaks at school.

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* To deal with what might be a problem of confounding variables, further research is being undertaken presently to isolate the effect of the creativity games themselves as opposed to that of the structural dimensions by making the games part of the curriculum in a formal setting. Subsequent comparisons will be made to determine exactly which factors have contributed to the recorded results.

In the summer of 1976, the research sample included ten camps, five experimental and five control. The curriculum of the camps was expanded, and the informal dimensions of "moratorium," "multi-dimensionality" and "symmetrical relationships" were emphasized as in the previous year. For example, one camp focusing on "moratorium" used financial issues as the content of its program. Campers played roles that involved banking, investing, retailing and planning. Another camp emphasized "multi-dimensionality" by training young counsellors to design the program content for the curriculum of another summer camp and then had them participate in their designed programs. The campers of the 1976 program were tested as in the previous year to discover their general role-awareness and social perceptions at the end of the summer. These results proved to be similar to those of the previous summer.

In 1976, trained observers were utilized in the experimental camps, in addition to the various tests and questionnaires, in order to see if the pre-planned informal structures would have a visible influence on the campers during their participation in camp. They observed the main activities in the cultural, physical and social areas, such as in drama, sports and play in both the experimental and control camps. In addition, special activities of the experimental camps were observed, such as the "moratorium" simulations and the creativity sessions. Especially noted was the kind of inter-personal relationships developed, both between campers and counsellors and among the campers themselves. Furthermore, the campers and counsellors were encouraged to record their own observations and experiences of their camps. Data culled from such observations suggest that the campers who attended the experimental camps were more aware of their own personal resources, more realistic in their assessment and understanding of adult roles and responsibilities, and more inclined to treat their peers as equals. Campers' comments regarding their experience showed that they thought they had learned a great deal and had gained more confidence in their abilities.

Information gathered from attitude questionnaires which were administered show that the campers in the experimental groups consistently perceived their camps as having a stronger degree of informality than did those in the control groups. This led the research team to conclude that the experimental camps in fact approached more closely the definition of the "ideal type" of informal youth organization.

To break down the analysis of this aspect further, the campers were asked to rank their experience in the camps according to the intensity of specific dimensions. Table One shows that the youngsters who attended the experimental camps perceived their camps as being more "informal" on each of the dimensions except "symmetric interaction" and "structural dualism." Also correlations between each of the dimensions gave a more empirical picture of the specific structure of informality in the camp. An interesting finding was that, although the correlations are generally lower in the control camps than in the experimental camps, the general profile is quite similar. The main difference is that "voluntary participation" in the experimental camp was most strongly correlated to other dimensions, while, in the control camps, "multi-dimensionality" was. In the light of these findings, the researchers were able to begin to examine to what extent the differences in informality between the two kinds of camps indicate differences in impact.

TABLE ONE

Differences in Intensity of Campers' Perception of Informality

Dimension	Experimental	Control
Percentage of Activities Which Were Characterized as Having Dimension Present		
Expressive Instrumentalism	93.3	63.1
Moratorium (Trial and Error)	82.3	61.9
Moratorium (Non-punitive)	75.0	52.3
Self-Administration	73.7	33.9
Multi-dimensionality	65.8	35.2
Expressiveness	57.4	42.6
Structural Elasticity	52.8	6.0
Voluntary Participation	30.0	5.0
Structural Dualism	28.6	42.7
Peer Control	22.0	6.6
Symmetric Interaction	8.2	9.2

In order to investigate the longer range effects of the experimental summer camps particularly on daily social activities, a questionnaire was distributed to a sample of the youth nine months after the completion of the 1976 summer camp program. The questionnaire asked the summer campers to evaluate their capacity to fulfill different roles in both youth clubs and schools, emphasizing responsibility in particular, and assessed the youths' current involvement in social activities.

The questionnaire was administered to a control group which was matched in socio-economic background and age but which had not attended camp. The researchers hypothesized that the level of social involvement of the experimental group would be higher (notwithstanding the difficulties involved in predicting the long-range effect of experiences in quasi-laboratory settings). Table Two lists three aspects of social involvement in two different settings (school and youth club) and reveals significant differences in favor of the experimental group. Furthermore, the findings indicate that the youth club is more conducive to social involvement than the school, although additional data await analysis before any final conclusions can be drawn. Future research will also be carried out to see what effects the summer camp, or similar youth organizations, will have on different aspects of the future of its participants.

TABLE TWO
AVERAGE SCORES OF SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT IN FORMAL AND INFORMAL SETTINGS*

	School		Youth Club	
	Participated in Summer Camp	Did not Participate	Participated in Summer Camp	Did not Participate
Centrality of Role	1.85	2.14	1.62	1.91
Level of Responsibility	1.49	1.59	1.29	1.59
Level of Initiated Activities	2.20	2.28	1.66	1.98

* The lower the score, the higher the level of social involvement.

During 1977 and 1978, the implementation of the theoretical model was vastly expanded to include other summer camps, youth clubs and community centers. Curricula based on the previous year's experiences were developed and new programs designed. In 1978, the Ministry of Education adopted the Institute's experimental summer camp program as an integral part of its total program, and fifty camps were established offering five thousand disadvantaged children the opportunity to participate. These camps are managed by a group of six people who participated in the camps during the preceding years and have been specially trained by the NCJW Research Institute. They are responsible for staff and are involved continually in the designing and evaluation of new camp curricula. In 1978, for example, they designed a curriculum specifically for families, where parents and children could participate in activities together. To make sure that the model maintains its effectiveness, several of the Ministry's camps are still being observed and data collected by the research team, who live and work in the camps during the summer months.

The NCJW Research Institute, in cooperation with the Ministry of Education, has recently compiled a manual to guide youth workers in informal youth organizations. The manual presents a variety of curricular alternatives, gives examples of simulated situations and proposes suggestions about how to design new curricula. It is accompanied where requested by a training course designed to transmit the principles of the theoretical model and elucidate the goals of informal education, particularly for the disadvantaged segment of the population. The School of Education of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem has also established a separate division in its undergraduate degree program, concentrating on the area of informal education, where interested students are trained in both research and practice.

In such a manner, the researchers have developed over the past years a dynamic theoretical approach to understanding what kind of impact informal educational frameworks can have, one which today, through its practical translation, is affecting many children throughout the country. One of the youngsters, after participating in an experimental summer camp, summarized his experience in a dramatic way. "Camp taught us to understand many different things about life and about how we can best live it."

APPENDIX A:

The Basic Dimensions of Informal Organizations (Ideal Type) and Their Expected Impact

Dimension	Definition of the Dimension	Expected Impact
1. Voluntary Participation	High degree of freedom of choices as to whether or not to participate in organized activities.	The fact that youth can join and leave an organization according to their own interests strengthens their "bargaining power" relative to adults and increases their commitment to the social frameworks of the informal organization if they do decide to participate.
2. Multi-dimensionality	A large range of different spheres of activity relatively equal or equivalent in their value or importance.	Offering various opportunities to participants who differ in abilities and interests, enables a maximal number of people to utilize their capabilities and to achieve a unique social status on a differential basis. As a result, a more mutual form of inter-dependence is created among participants. Multi-dimensionality may also facilitate the development of a favorable self-image of the participants.
3. Moratorium	An institutional pattern of delay of obligations. Activity which allows for "trial and error" with a minimal control and little punishment of deviant behavior.	Allows experimentation with a variety of rules and roles in peer-controlled system, before responsibility is taken. Its experience smooths transitions and increases the potential of developing an obligatory commitment.
4. Symmetric Interaction	Relationship based on relatively small differences in resources among participants, i.e. participants control equal or equivalent resources. As a result, norms and expectations can only be established if mutually agreed upon, since no participant has the power to define the rules of exchange for the others.	The existence of symmetric relationships is a basic condition for learning the principle of reciprocity which underlies morality, and is the basis for the legitimation of the social order.
5. Peer Control	Control by means of explanation and persuasion rather than by the use of pressures, threats, sanctions or other forms of power.	The use of persuasive methods increase the probability of developing universal values and rules of behavior as well as the commitment to them.
6. Self-Administration and Active Participation	Decision power is given to the "members" in problem resolution and policy-making.	The experimentation with the principles of governed and governing and the development of mutual responsibility.
7. Structural Elasticity	Most activities are based on rules and norms which are neither formally defined nor standardized or routinized. They are instead eclectic in their nature and defined usually on an ad hoc basis, according to the immediate situation including sentiments.	Capability for pragmatic accommodation to changing situations and to various individual social objectives.
8. Value-Oriented Activities	Most areas of activity are ascribed a value-meaning which is usually crystallized in a symbolic or even ritualistic form.	Actions become more meaningful and attractive.
9. Expressive Instrumentalism	The compound of activities, combining both immediate gratification and future benefits.	High attractiveness due to immediate rewards along with the development of the ability to postpone gratification and undertake long-term planning.
10. Structural Dualism	A system based on conflicting codes such as ascriptive, diffuse, or particularistic principles together with those based on achievement specificity and universalism.	An opportunity to acquire experience with different codes of behavior before any commitment is made. This component when combined with multi-dimensionality should bring about an aversion of role-perspective.

CHAPTER FIVE

MANOF
An Intensive Educational Experience for Marginal Youth

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MANOF

An Intensive Educational Experience for Marginal Youth

In the poorer sections of the major cities and in the outlying development towns in Israel, the casual observer can often see youngsters idling about who seemingly have nothing better to do. Many of them appear "tough", with tight jeans and haircuts ranging from Afros to long "hippy" styles. Some of them are members of street gangs and some of them have no particular affiliation; what characterizes them all is that they are not part of any of the usually accepted societal frameworks. Most of them have dropped out of school because they did not succeed and were not motivated to or could not change their situation there.

Partially responsible is the fact that schools in general, and certainly those in the places where many of these youth live, have not been able to deal effectively with the difficulties of their disadvantaged student bodies. They often have poorly qualified teachers, a required curriculum not suited to the students and a generally low level of student achievement. One feeling these youth have, resulting from their unsatisfactory and frustrating experience in school, is that society, or "those in power", have wronged them, and that just "getting along" or "taking" wherever possible is the most advantageous way to live.

Another aspect of the problem is particularly poignant in Israel and has been mentioned in preceding chapters. The great majority of these youngsters come from disadvantaged families of Afro-Asian origin who, after immigration, had to struggle with the hard realities of poverty and lack of education, as well as with an unsettling cultural dislocation. Their sense of isolation in Israel is increased because of their ethnic origin and low social status, and their children inherit some of these feelings, like the one of somehow being discriminated against. This seems the truth to them because, while they have not in fact been prepared well to deal with the demands of the institutions of a modern, technological society, they have been taught to believe that each citizen in a democracy has equal rights and the advantages of equal opportunity. Thus, the experience of the kind of failure that brought them to their present situation and the feelings accompanying it, make the problem of marginal youth a very serious and complex one, affecting about 10% of the total age cohort from fourteen to seventeen in Israel, or some twenty-thousand youngsters.*

Although these youth sometimes find jobs after they have left school, the unskilled labor for which they are qualified holds little status and does not pay well, and so it often does not seem worth the effort to stay. These adolescents have neither developed the qualities, such as responsibility or persistence, required in the work situation, nor the understanding that investing in something today may yield results tomorrow. In the most extreme cases, out of frustration and to some extent bitterness, these youth can (and many already have), become the delinquents and rejects of society, populating the juvenile courts and welfare payrolls, if nothing is done to divert them from the path on which they are headed.

In Israel the situation of these teenagers becomes even more difficult at the age of eighteen when the time comes for recruitment into the army, and many of them are not accepted because of police records or general instability. Any young man who has not served in the army, unless for reasons of health, has a stain on his record which may well become a serious handicap, making entrance into the adult world even more problematic.

The government has been aware to some extent of these problems, and there have been several attempts made to create frameworks which can help these teenagers to enter the job market. One such program, devised by the Ministry of Labor and Welfare, assigns groups of adolescent boys to kibbutzim, factories, and army workshops, where they are trained on the job and given general educational courses. Although similar to the apprenticeship programs offered in vocational schools, this particular program offers a limited salary to its participants, and uses a curriculum designed by the individual teacher rather than a standard one. However, as a result of the low salary and the relatively low status of the jobs involved, not many adolescents are attracted. Those that do begin frequently do not remain; this may be because there is no element of nurturing the special kind of supportive relationship or environment that this kind of youth needs to succeed at this point in his life.

Another kind of vocational program, based on the idea of sheltered workshops and called *miftan,* was established by the Ministry of Welfare and Labor to try to train twelve to sixteen year-old who have not done well in school.

Some are recommended by teachers, guidance counselors or principals of their schools, others come after having already dropped out of schools, and yet others are recommended by social workers and probation officers. The three-part *miftan* curriculum includes: a) vocational training, with courses in such areas as carpentry, metal work and shoe-making for the boys and sewing and home economics for the girls b) classroom studies, with courses in basic reading and writing skills and various electives and c) social and recreational activities concentrating on games and club meetings. The *miftan* students also receive monthly payments based on a point system that rewards attendance, punctuality, and completion of projects. Work is evaluated without grades, and a certificate is awarded after a period of two years, the minimum time required, if given skills have been mastered. Although the certificate is not an official one recognized by the Ministry of Labor, it does permit entry into local labor markets. In spite of many positive aspects, however, students characterize the structured *miftan* environment as restrictive and often not rewarding. Its effectiveness is in fact the subject of a current NCJW Research Institute study, financed by the Ministry of Welfare and Labor.

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* Assuming that fifty percent of this number are girls, it must be noted that approximately half of them come from traditional settings where, at this age, they are already expected to fulfill a role at home. Thus, even though the girls fit into the definition of "youth who are neither studying or working", their situation is different.

All such official vocationally-oriented programs focus on education for specific skills. Although there is awareness of the behavioral norms, personal aspirations, and social expectations that are allied to successful job performance, not enough attention is paid to them. Beyond technical knowledge, young people who can be described as unattached or marginal need to be prepared socially and emotionally for adulthood in a modern society. They need an environment that increases their confidence and sense of purpose, gives them a measure of adult responsibility, and plays down attempts at over rehabilitation. In fact, work done with street gangs by the Ministries of Education and Welfare and Labor, aimed at this group of youth, deals partially with this aspect of the problem. A supportive atmosphere is created by the youth worker and the group itself; the teenagers are given a chance to participate in different kinds of productive activities as at least partial preparation for adult life. This work, often carried out by dedicated adults, can be very valuable, but it is limited in the sense that the youth worker has no real resources at hand; he eventually must approach already existing programs or institutions to complete the work of rehabilitaion, such as a vocational school or the *miftan*. Contact can be lost with his client at that point who, without the youth worker's direct support, is not yet adequately prepared to deal successfully with experiences similar to those at which he failed in the past.

Because of the serious situation of disadvantaged youth in the country and the lack of viable solutions, the Rothschild Foundation approached the NCJW Research Institute in 1972 to submit an Action Statement analyzing the problem in depth and recommending possible solutions. Among many experimental programs proposed, several were selected for funding. One was a special residential project for 15-17 year-old boys which was to deal specifically with the group of marginal youth mentioned above and which would be a kind of "recovery" institution. The program, now known as MANOF (meaning crane in English and an acronym for residential youth center in Hebrew), opened in the fall of 1975.

The problem faced by the founders of MANOF was exactly how to go about creating a meaningful institution to which problematic youth would want to come of their own accord. Given that most, if not all, these youth had had many negative formal school experiences, a more informal approach would have to be used. The project would have to find a way to replace current deviant behavioral patterns with constructive, socially acceptable ones. It would have to provide a diversified curriculum, directed both towards instrumental goals (i.e. the acquisition of a trade and intellectual skills) and towards rehabilitative ones, such as norms of group behavior, capacity for autonomy and self-expression, ability to persist at a task, to mention a few. Included in such a conception was the idea that there should be a wide variety of activities, some highly challenging and some almost entirely pleasurable, and that participation would be absolutely voluntary. At the same time, it was clear that the adult figures could not play the role of ordinary teachers, but that dedicated staff would have to be developed with whom the youth could make close, trusting relationships and who could act as models and supports for them as they were experimenting with a new life style and with the acquisition of a variety of social, intellectual, and vocational skills.

A creative social environment was consequently designed in which several educational activities and programs could simultaneously be pursued both formally and informally. The vocational courses offered by MANOF were to be directed towards occupations with a higher social status, such as photography and electronics, than the traditional low-status ones, such as carpentry or shoe-making, which most programs (like the *miftan*) offer. The emphasis in all activities would be on the development of personal responsibility and the positive attributes of normative social interaction, rather than merely on the completion of any given course or task, although that would also be considered important.

One of MANOF's essential characteristics was to be that it would create a "total environment;" for twenty-four hours a day the participants would be involved in the different aspects of the project. The youth, having been taken out of their former surroundings, would essentially be provided with a new home. It was assumed that intense dormitory living would facilitate close group relationships and the necessity to deal in one way or another with any conflicts that arose. It was further assumed that the peer group would lend initial support and encourage the more marginal youth to change their negative behavioral patterns. The staff, within this setting, would be available continually to provide individual attention, support and personal guidance.

Within the total environment, the participants would be given the chance to experiment with fulfilling various adult roles. Up until this time, many of them had never had much success at any role, and this aspect of the program would be very valuable in preparing them for the future. MANOF would give them the opportunity to plan their own day-to-day programs, for example, and to participate on committees which would essentially govern different aspects of life at MANOF. Through these committees, the youth would learn to accept responsibility and to perform social roles effectively which are essential for active membership in society. This process could give them the opportunity to understand what it is to be responsible for a group as a whole, and something about the way they function as individuals in different situations. It could also bring about a redefinition of the relationship between the youth and the staff, perhaps to be based more on an appreciation of the values and personality characteristics of each, rather than on expectations growing out of pre-determined role functions.

Youth would be brought to MANOF through the recommendation of street and community youth workers and, in subsequent years, through hearing about the project from friends, siblings or advertisement. In this sense it would be a "reach out" project which would attempt to identify marginal youth who could benefit from the program and draw them into it. The staff of MANOF would be closely involved in recruitment, going to find and interview potential candidates in their home environment. One of their tasks would be to determine a youngster's potential and his level of commitment and sincerity, since some motivation would have to be present for there to be a chance of success in a program which was to be entirely voluntary.

It was predicted that the relationships of the youngsters to their families might be problematic after a period of time at MANOF. On the one hand, the theory was that youngsters need to be separated at least temporarily from their usual environment, including their peer group and even their family, in order for the re-educative process to be as effective as possible. On the other hand, family ties are usually very binding in communities of Afro-Asian origin, and they provide at some level a constant and necessary support. An experience such as MANOF can in fact result in a sense of estrangement from the family itself, and, in more extreme cases, in resentment of it. These feelings would most likely diminish as the youth became more at home with new modes of behavior, but the process of change can create conflicts both within oneself and in relation to the outside world which take some time to be resolved.*

It is difficult to judge if a program like MANOF has fulfilled its stated goals, since they elude exact measurement. It was decided, however, that several indicators could be taken as evidence that MANOF was having the effect its founders had anticipated. One would be whether the army would be willing to recruit the participants, since without MANOF, many, as mentioned above, would have been disqualified. Another closely related indicator would be how the youth function during their military service once accepted. Still another positive indication would be if the youth decided to continue studying in some framework, either before or after the army, and, the last, if they could qualify for a job that they wanted and maintain it over a period of time. Only after it has become clear what path MANOF graduates will choose to take will the effectiveness of the project be able to be evaluated.**

After searching for an appropriate place to establish MANOF, the first residential center was set up in Nahariya, against the backdrop of the Mediterranean sea in a city characterized by its neat and tidy houses and general beauty.*** It was hoped that this environment, very different for youth used to the streets and crowded housing conditions, would provide an effective setting for the project. Initially, there were two attractive, adjacent pensions rented, the larger containing most of the classrooms, bedrooms, library, office, a big kitchen and a large dining-recreation room. The other building was devoted almost exclusively to photography with developing and printing facilities.

The first group of approximately 20 boys were invited into this pension to begin a new phase of their life in November, 1975. Both the staff and the group of teenagers were very unsure of exactly what would take place and used the first two or three weeks as a kind of trial period. The

* In subsequent meetings with MANOF staff, it was reported that most families of MANOF participants do not in fact take an active interest in their son's progress and initiate very little contact with them and with the staff of MANOF during their stay there. This could be because of being occupied with day-to-day life at home or because of a sense of embarrassment or a sense of alienation from and almost fear of their children. In any case, there are often boys who choose not to go home during their weekends off, whatever the ramifications of this are. Somewhere during the middle of the kibbutz period, the attitude of the parents seems to become more positive, however, and contact often increases. This may be because both the parents and the adolescent begin to accept and perceive each other in a more realistic fashion.

** Some research results concerning these indicators will be reported further on in the chapter.

*** The founders of the project decided that renting a building would be more appropriate in the beginning than buying property in order that the program's feasibility could be tested before setting up a permanent site. In 1977-1978, MANOF was expanded to incorporate another pension in Nahariya and the year following a third one in a youth hostel in Kfar Witkin. At present, a permanent site is being considered.

staff had the chance to observe the youth closely, while they could see if MANOF was what they had expected or wanted. Some of the teenagers in fact left at this point because they were not willing or able to adjust to the demands of the program, and others were asked to leave because their behavior was too extreme for the program to tolerate.

Waiting to receive the first group of boys were Mr. Yaakov Ohayon, the director, and a team of youth workers and teachers. Yaakov was chosen as director after having been interviewed extensively by the founders of MANOF. He is a Moroccan-born Israeli in his thirties who grew up in a northern border village in Israel and served eleven years in the army, gaining the rank of lieutenant. Currently director-general of the MANOF Corporation*, he is responsible for all aspects of the program, including recruitment of the staff. Extremely sensitive to the needs of each individual participant, he has revealed the capacity to earn the trust of the group and yet communicate to them the limits for acceptable behavior. He serves as a model for the youth, and his commitment and enthusiasm touches all those around him. When the situation is ideal, there is a youth worker for each eight to ten boys, several teachers and two social workers who make up the educational staff. Since the program's success depends to a great extent on their personalities, skills, commitment, and capacity to communicate and relate, the staff is chosen as carefully as the kind and number of applicants permits.

Most of the youth accepted to MANOF come from development towns in northern Israel or disadvantaged sections of the larger cities. All are school dropouts with an average achievement level of about the seventh grade. Most come from overcrowded homes in depressed neighborhoods and have had some encounter with the police, sometimes serious. A typical example is a boy named David from Kiryat Ata. One of twelve children, two of whom have been convicted of crimes, he has a father who is the proprietor of a gambling house-cafe. David left school when he was twelve years old to help his father and soon began pushing drugs. Shalom, another MANOF participants, was born in a slum suburb of Haifa. He left school in eighth grade and immediately joined a local street gang remaining "on the street" until he found out about MANOF. A somewhat different story is that of Menachem who dropped out of school in the tenth grade because of problems at home with his parents. Menachem took to the streets and soon learned how to survive on his own. Break-ins and drug pushing became his regular pastimes.

Practically all the youth in MANOF have had similar experiences of one kind or another and have learned behavior patterns which have allowed them to exist in their past environment. The beginning of each year's program is consequently very difficult. The youth have no idea exactly what is expected of them, the environment is strange, and their relationships with the adults and each other are yet undefined. Drugs, aggressive behavior, some violence, resistance both to authority and to the routine all have to be dealt with as the program begins to be put into action. Individual relationships have to be nurtured carefully, particularly since a very delicate balance must be maintained between support, acceptance and demands, and between closeness and the necessary professional distance. The goals of the program are not yet clear to the participants, they are unsure of the limits of the acceptable behavior and their role as individuals or members of the group.

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* MANOF was made into a Corporation in 1977 in order that it could have official standing, make general policy decisions through a public body representing different groups interested and involved in MANOF, and govern its own financial affairs.

The different elements of the program converge in an attempt to teach each individual various skills and to give him an opportunity to try out different kinds of behavior. There are essentially three different stages to the program. The first stage covers a period of six months in the residential setting beginning in October. It has a long and demanding schedule. The day begins at 6:30, with breakfast at 7:00. Study begins at 7:45 and continues until 1:00, with only a half-hour break at 10:30. Afternoon classes commence at 2:30 and continue until 5:30. The evening is either free or used for various informal activities. The youth themselves are responsible for day-to-day cleanliness and for some routine jobs in the dining room.

There are two different aspects to the program in the first stage. The first, the more formal, includes vocational and academic studies as well as creative work-shops and special interest groups, all tailored to individual needs and desires. The academic subjects include Hebrew, mathematics, English and history, and the vocational ones, which are elective, photography, car electronics, car electricity and metal work. Attendance at all classes is voluntary, and there are no exams or grades.

The second aspect of the program is the more informal one and complements the actual course work (which itself contains many informal elements). It includes among other things, the evening programs. Some of these are discussions which center around pertinent issues, such as the group's functioning, politics, or some specific occurrence. Others consist of meetings of the various elected committees coordinated by a central committee, which have responsibility for different aspects of the program such as food, cultural activities, sports and discipline.

A specific incident might be pertinent to understanding how the committees function. The committee on discipline, which has the responsibility for deciding what to do with individuals who are caught stealing or in possession of drugs, dealt with a case of theft in a very creative way. It set up a public trial, where a jury, made up of the adolescent's peers, had to decide what to do. A general discussion on the problem of stealing was held with the staff before the trial, then witnesses were heard, and the jury had to decide how to treat their peer. Their verdict was very strict and had to be softened by the director, because he didn't think the youngster involved could stand up to the harsh conditions imposed.* Of course, in the end, the director has ultimate veto power, though he tries to use it as little as possible, preferring rather to turn problems over to the central committee which indeed has much influence. Youngsters who get chosen to it enjoy status in the group, although sometimes they are also resented and have to learn how to use their power effectively while being accepted.

Included in the informal aspect of the program are the many conversations between the youth worker and the youth, on both an individual and group basis, which take place as the program progresses. These help the youth to integrate his various experiences, understand his relationship to the adults working with him, to himself and to his peer group, and give him guidance where necessary. Many spontaneous activities often also occur during the day – an outing to town, a soccer game, a discussion with the pension manager, or a meeting to plan the weekend's trip to Sinai. Hikes and overnight trips to various places provide, besides much pleasure, the opportunity for many different educational experiences, including learning about the country and its history. In general, they increase the group's solidarity as well.

The next stage, the second, is one of transition, but has much importance in itself. The group moves to a kibbutz for three months, along with the youth workers, and is expected to integrate into the different aspects of life there. In many ways, the kibbutz is similar to the residential setting. It is a closed society where the individual has to find a place and sometimes sacrifice his own needs to the needs of the group. The teenagers from MANOF continue to have the personal attention of the youth workers, and they attend classes in some of the subjects that were given in Nahariya. They are, however, expected to integrate into the kibbutz society in the sense that they are assigned to jobs by the kibbutz and expected to fulfill them well; they eat with the kibbutz in the public dining room and are included in social activities. In contrast to the residential setting in Nahariya, the kibbutz is a natural social setting, and as such, promotes the youth's preparation for adult life and the outside world.

Although there has been no systematic research, impressionistic data reveal the following concerning this stage. In the kibbutz, the youth were able to maintain the demanding schedule, as they had been in Nahariya. They also adjusted quickly and, on the whole, successfully to life there. It seems that the norms which had been developed during the first stage helped them to understand what kind of behavior and attitudes were acceptable in the new context, and the group helped them to live according to them. When the question arose as to whether individuals who wanted to could remain on the kibbutz after they completed the MANOF program, the answer was mostly in the affirmative from the kibbutzim. Thus, from all points of view, the experience seems to be a positive one and to fulfill its educational purpose.

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* It is interesting to note that adolescents almost always tend to judge themselves more harshly than adults when given responsibility for discipline.

The third stage of MANOF, which begins nine months after the youth initially enter the program, is a complex and very important one. It is essentially open-ended, because it deals with each individual and his plans for the future. Each case is considered very carefully, and decisions are arrived at after different factors have been weighed: the youth's preferences and abilities, the staff's recommendations, and the availability of different alternatives. Because the actual program of MANOF itself is so short, which is one of its unique features, a system of counselling has also been provided which continues after the program has officially ended. This is a very important and integral part of MANOF and makes it different from most other such programs. A special member of the staff has been given the responsibility of finding the most suitable place for each youngster and of keeping in contact with him as he goes into the outside world. This is done with much care and in complete cooperation with the youngster and those who have worked with him during his stay at MANOF. The youth are encouraged to return to MANOF as visitors at any time and call on staff members whenever necessary. In this way graduates are continually supported and encouraged as they attempt to establish themselves. Special thought is being given now to the idea of setting up some kind of cooperative settlement where MANOF graduates can go, particularly after their army service, but these plans are only on the drawing board at this point.

It was clear from the inception of the project that some ongoing evaluation was necessary, and Dr. Yochanan Eshel of Haifa University agreed to take responsibility for an initial, small-scale project. Most educational research examines the results of experimental intervention assuming that the nature and goals of the intervention have been clearly determined. In this case, the research team attempted first and foremost to understand what were the goals of MANOF, if there were consensus about them and then, what was the process involved in attaining them.

This was done both by observations and questionnaires and through personal interaction with those participating in the project, which made it sometimes difficult for the researcher to maintain the role of the "objective" scientist, but also gave him more profound insight into the internal dynamics of the project.

Concerning the learning aspect, it became clear that, if MANOF was to achieve something, it would have to make the classroom or workshop experience a successful one, as has been mentioned before, and also convince the participants that there was some realistic value in what was being studied. It was found that, if the above conditions were fulfilled, the youth at MANOF could maintain a very demanding schedule and become highly motivated to learn the material presented to them, particularly in the area of vocational skills. This was in direct contradiction to usual experiences with youth of this kind and points to some kind of unique quality in MANOF. The researchers believed that this might be connected to its carefully constructed environment. Since it was a "total" one, there was the opportunity to create a social organization which the researchers felt contributed to both successful studying and positive general behavior and attitudes. Because the youth perceived that their participation in the social structure of MANOF was real; that is, that they could actually influence what was happening, they became very involved and were ready to participate fully in most of the activities. An interesting example is that, at the end of the first stage, the second group asked to have full responsibility for supervising itself in study assignments and for its daily schedule and discipline. It also became clear from these kinds of occurrences that it was possible to teach democratic ways of relating, even though the usual pattern of relationships experienced by these youth was very different.

In looking at the general "climate" of MANOF, the researchers found it to be warm and positive. They also found that there was a certain group cohesiveness, although not as much as there might have been. The first three groups of youngsters indicated that they thought it was the personal contact with the youth worker which brought about change and the positive attitude that prevailed. If this is true, it in fact raises a major problem. If it is the personality of the staff which is the significant factor, it might be very difficult to train people to have the kind of instinctive understanding and reactions necessary to this kind of work. In any case, the researchers recommended that some kind of intensive training program be conceived and undertaken for staff before they enter the program and that on-the-spot guidance be made available during their actual time at MANOF. They believe that, only when this occurs, will expansion be possible, since without additional staff, which is, on all counts, difficult to find, the success of the program will be dependent continually on a few leading figures.

Attitudes of the youth changed as a result of their participation in MANOF, particularly towards the army, towards themselves and towards their role in the group and in society. Many of them expressed a new-found desire to serve in the Israel Defense Forces. Most of them stated that they were willing to give up the ways in which they used to spend their time in the past and replace them with more productive ones. All of them expressed a very strong identification with the project and its goals as well as with their peer group. As the program progressed, there were very few evidences of delinquency and there was a strong pressure from the group to avoid problems and "appear" in an accepted fashion. Most of the participants felt "successful" and that they had changed, although they indicated that they would need further support (the follow-up aspect of MANOF was an answer to this). Interestingly enough, and contrary to expectations, measures on a self-image test revealed that in fact the self-image of the youth was less strong at the end of MANOF; this the researchers interpreted as meaning that they had come to perceive themselves in more realistic if less confident terms, perhaps a necessary step to their future development. They had no concrete evidence to support this interpretation, however.

Another aspect of the research dealt with gathering factual information about the youth during and after the program. A summary of the information about the situation of all the youth that it was possible to contact who had been involved in MANOF up until January, 1979, is summarized in Table One.

It is interesting to note that MANOF participants who were recruited by the Israel Defense Forces were assigned to regular combat units such as the tank corps, the missile boat unit of the navy, and the parachutists. Similar adolescents, not in MANOF, if succesfully drafted into the army at all, are generally assigned to positions with little responsibility and low social status, such as kitchen detail or driving. This is an encouraging development and can be taken as evidence that MANOF is fulfilling at least part of its stated goals.

Table Two records the number of adolescents who have participated in MANOF since its inauguration in 1975. Discounting the five MANOF participants who left the program in 1976-1977, just after it began, it is clear that the program was more successful in its second and third years. In the first year, 68.4% of the youth completed the program while in the second and third, the number rose to approximately 80%. Several reasons for this include the development of initial interviewing techniques which screened the youth more successfully, the introduction of the three-week observation period, as well as the fact that each successive year's group benefitted from the experiences of the previous one, so that many problems had already been ironed out. It should be noted, however, that not completing the program is not necessarily an indication of failure. A participant can leave MANOF early and still find employement or be classified as eligible for military service.

TABLE ONE

PARTICIPANTS' ACTIVITIES AFTER PROGRAM

	total N	in kibbutz	in the army	working	problems with law	problems in army	not accepted in army	In some learning frame-work
1975–76 Group One and Group Two	23*	–	16	–	–	1	5	–
1976–77	27	–	17	6	2	2	–	–
1977–78 Group in 1st pension	23	5	2	12	1	1	–	2
Group in 2nd pension	19	4	2	10	–	–	–	3
TOTAL	91	9	37	28	3	4	5	5

* 3 youngsters could not be contacted

TABLE TWO

Number of Participants at Entry and Completion of Program by Year

	Year 1975–1976		Year 1976–1977		Year 1977–1978	
	Entry	Completion	Entry	Completion	Entry	Completion
Number	38	26	38(33)*	27	59(50)*	42

* The number outside the brackets indicates the total number of participants at intake. The number inside the brackets indicates the total number of participants after the three-week observation period.

The question of why youth drop out of MANOF without some legitimate reason, is one which researchers and staff are presently trying to answer. Preliminary findings suggest certain trends. The institutional atmosphere of MANOF presents difficulties for those boys who, although sincerely wishing to change their life style, cannot come to terms with authority, even that of the youth's own committees responsible for discipline. Secondly, some of the adolescents are not able to make a break from the past in such a short time, and do not have the capacity to change quite so radically. Thirdly, the process of formulating a new identity can be a very difficult and potentially disturbing one, taking place in two stages. In the first, the individual has to begin to doubt the value of his original identity which means, essentially, to doubt his own worth. With encouragement and the right atmosphere, such as can happen in MANOF, a new kind of identity hopefully emerges based upon new values and reinforced by peers and adults who are close and have become "significant others." What sometimes happens is that the strain experienced during the first stage is too trying, and the teenager drops out before he is able to benefit from the positive effects of the program.

The program for 1977–1978 was expanded to include fifty-nine participants. In contrast to the previous years, where the number of boys accepted into MANOF almost equalled the number of candidates applying, more than 150 candidates applied. This happened probably because past MANOF participants recommended the program to their friends and family, because the project has a good reputation among professionals, and because the media has given ample coverage to the program's success. A new recruitment technique is in fact going to be put into action in the near future. A mobile van will circulate through disadvantaged neighborhoods, and all adolescents who approach it will be screened. Even if the candidate is not deemed eligible for MANOF, he will be helped to find some kind of short or long term solution to his problem. In this way, the number of applicants will be increased and, additionally, a much-needed general service for youth will be provided.

There are obvious questions that must be asked concerning MANOF. How long does the impact last? What is the required balance between formal and informal elements in the residential setting to best ensure the project's success? Is the project replicable elsewhere? Without the immediate support of peers and the MANOF staff, will the youth be able to meet the demands of society? Is it the leadership, the educational techniques, the youth workers, or some combination of the three that explains the results of the project? Although much more extensive research needs yet to be done, several aspects of these questions are being dealt with in a research project presently being conducted by the NCJW Research Institute and directed by Professor David Joroff of Haifa University. One of them concerns the short term effects of the MANOF program on the youths involved with regard to development of personality, an extension of work done in the initial research. This aspect is especially concerned with self-image and how the boys relate to members of their family as well as to members of the opposite sex and to society as a whole. A second question is what are the effects of exposure to the MANOF program with regard to future adjustment to society. This includes a more detailed and comprehensive analysis of what happens to the MANOF residents after they leave the program, especially relating to the areas of the military service, occupational development, and social relationships. The research will present both short-term and long-term findings and will follow the youngsters for a period of approximately five years after they have left the program. During this time, comparison will be made to those youths who are involved in other youth-oriented programs throughout Israel and to youths from similar backgrounds who are not involved in special programs. It is hoped that such research will provide on-going input to the MANOF program and will also be able to demonstrate its uniqueness.

Everyone involved in the continuing MANOF program is aware of the difficulties involved. Nevertheless, there is great hope that more and more youth will be turned away from delinquent patterns of behavior and reintegrated into society. The period at MANOF allows times for reflection within a supportive community and the opportunity to learn a great deal in many areas. According to Yaakov Ohayon, the director, it is a matter of commitment: "When arguments are no longer settled with fists and the boys are enthusiastic about their studies and involved in some framework, whether it be army, kibbutz, or school, I feel it is all worthwhile and that this project has a great future."

MANOF is an intervention program that emphasizes an informal educational approach and provides a feasible alternative to the formal school system. It offers what may be a "last opportunity" to unattached youth to re-enter an educational institution which can affect their lives before adulthood. As an excellent example of "action research," the results of the project to date indicate that marginal youth can indeed begin to be re-integrated into society if they live in a setting which is responsive to their special and individual needs. The project in Nahariya represents a new phase in this kind of education which hopefully will expand widely in the coming years.

CHAPTER SIX

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
Manpower Preparation and Social Integration

Principal Researchers: Reuven Kahane, Hebrew University
Laura Starr, Hebrew University

CHAPTER SIX

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Manpower Preparation and Social Integration

One of the functions of vocational education in Israel is to provide increasingly sophisticated manpower for a quickly developing industrial society. The country's pressing security needs demand the most modern technology, and its lack of natural resources and small labor force makes competition in world markets more profitable with products requiring technological excellence than with those that can be mass produced. On the other hand, a large percentage of the young people who turn to vocational secondary education in preparation for adult life, often because they cannot meet the demands of the academic high school, are of a disadvantaged background. Thus, the vocational education system must function continually within the following constraints: the need to prepare competent manpower for modern industry and a student body which, on the average, does not function at a high level academically.

As mentioned in different contexts in the preceding chapters of this book, these students come from homes which have not provided them with many of the social resources and attitudes necessary to fulfill the various adult roles expected of integrated, productive citizens in society. Educational systems have for the most part seen it as their role to impart these resources, a function particularly important in developing societies or countries where there are many under-resourced[*] students. They face a major dilemma, however, because the means that are necessary to do this are often not relevant to or even conflict with those necessary to teach sophisticated technological skills requiring intellectual flexibility and theoretical understanding. The educational system is then forced to weigh carefully the costs and benefits involved in concentrating on either of these goals or on some combination of both.

Vocational education in Israel, moreover, has traditionally been involved with teaching technical and intellectual skills for specific jobs rather than with comprehensive occupational education. Thus broader resources, such as those concerned with values, understanding of organizational discipline, responsibility, or the capacity to communicate effectively, which are essential for the efficient performance of both the worker role and broader social roles, have not been seen as primary goals. This concentration on technological skills has in fact increased recently, since the system has had to raise its academic standards and become more theoretically oriented in order to keep pace with modernization. This decreases the chance that under-resourced students will receive an education appropriate to both their abilities and their needs, and often leaves them without the necessary resources to take advantage of available employment opportunities. Some people believe that this might be one of the reasons that the number of marginal youth who are neither in school nor working has increased in recent years.

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[*] Kahane and Starr use the word "under-resourced" rather than "disadvantaged", since they feel that it is less biased and refers to the cause of the problem rather than the effect. Both expressions describe the concept of "disadvantaged", as it is presented in the Introduction.

Before discussing the research undertaken by the NCJW Research Institute in the area of vocational education, it might be valuable to present the development of vocational education in an historical perspective. When the State of Israel was created in 1948, two major secondary educational programs were already in existence, the academic and the agricultural. The most prestigious school at this time was the agricultural school, which not only offered a vocation, but also a way of life motivated by the Zionist ideals of labor and reclamation of the land. It provided much of the leadership for the vast agricultural development that was taking place throughout the country which included draining the malaria swamps in the Galilee, creating new agricultural settlements (mainly kibbutzim) in settled areas and developing the irrigation system throught Israel.

With the enormous growth in population following the establishment of the State, however, the existing educational facilities became increasingly adequate and were widely expanded. The academic high school absorbed the most capable students and had the highest social status. Agricultural schools, even though they still enjoyed special status, continually decreased in importance. In contrast, vocational education grew in response to the country's rapid economic growth and needs as well as to the desire to absorb the children of new immigrants, who often had difficulty achieving in the other secondary school frameworks. Educational planners believed that, through vocational education, these students would gain the resources necessary to becoming economically mobile and integrated into the society. In 1948-1949, vocational high school students comprised only 19.6% of the total post-primary student population in Israel, while in 1976-1977, they comprised 48.5% (Table One). It is important to note that, of the students in vocational-technological education in 1976-1977, 63.6% were of Afro-Asian backgrounds. This large proportion of Afro-Asian students in the system is evidence that vocational education is indeed a viable and meaningful alternative for them, but perhaps also evidence in many cases that the more elite and prestigious academic education track is not really accessible.

As the number of students of all ethnic origins in the vocational system expanded, the many differences in ability levels became increasingly apparent. To cope with these differences, a streaming system was

TABLE ONE

Pupils in Post Primary Education in Israel, 1948-1977*

	Type of School				
Year	Academic High Schools	Vocational High Schools	Other Post-Primary Schools	Total Post-Primary Education	
	%	%	%	%	N
1948/49	70.2	19.6	10.2	100.0	10.218
1959/60	59.7	18.4	21.9	100.0	55.142
1969/70	49.2	38.3	12.5	100.0	129.436
1976/77	41.5	48.5	10.0	100.0	134.731

* Central Bureau of Statistics, *The Statistical Abstract*, No. 28, 1977, Table XX/II, p. 602.

introduced in which each program had a specially designed curriculum adapted to the average ability level of the participating students. These programs differed in number of years of study, and some included an apprenticeship aspect or a combination of work and study. Each stream qualified the student for a different level role and carried with it a certain status depending on its duration and theoretical orientation. On the one hand, it is clear that such streaming lead to stratification among students both in the context of the school and in the future job market. On the other hand, short-term programs also had a positive aspect. Low-achieving students with little motivation could complete some type of course quickly and fairly easily and enter the labor market to assume adult occupational roles. This gave these youth a chance to prove themselves in a new context, instead of keeping them in school where their success was limited. Nevertheless, the establishment of a streaming system which was supposed to provide equality of educational opportunity turned out to have segregated features which in fact could reinforce existing inequalities.*

In an effort to upgrade the technological educational system in general and encourage every pupil to complete twelve years of study, the Ministry of Education changed this system of streaming in the early 1970's. From this time on, tracks were distinguished by their academic standards and curricula rather than according to years of study. As a result, the Ministry of Education now offers pupils three major four-year tracks of study which are supplemented by programs under the auspices of the

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* This same turn of events was found with regard to ability-grouping in elementary schools which essentially separated children within the classroom.

Ministry of Labor and Welfare. The highest, the academic vocational track, grants the pupil a technician's certificate and prepares him to undertake the technological matriculation examinations. The next two tracks, the regular and practical vocational tracks, differ according to curricular emphasis, while both award pupils official trade certificates.

In addition, the Ministry of Labor and Welfare offers a wide variety of programs in an attempt to meet the needs of pupils who are not successfully absorbed into the three mainstream tracks operated by the Ministry of Education. Two of the larger ones, as measured by the number of participants, are industrial schools and apprenticeship programs. The former combines work in industry with related studies carried out in a school situated next to the plant, while the latter allocates youth to work in places where they receive on-the-job training augmented by classes one day a week. Successful completion of these programs also entitles the pupil to an official trade certificate.

This revision of the system of vocational education and the accompanying attempt to raise the overall standards of the schools has brought about increased pressures on a large proportion of the students, particularly the weaker ones. Sometimes this has caused them to drop out, and certainly it has postponed their entrance into the labor market. The study load has become heavier, first of all, because it is necessary to include theoretical work along with practice, and, second of all, because where under-resourced students are concerned, it has been assumed that more hours are necessary for them to achieve the required level. The curriculum also is problematic because it tries to provide basic understanding of scientific paradigms and of processes involved in technology. Often students cannot successfully master this aspect and yet are not given enough opportunity to learn specific practical skills. At the same time, relatively fewer trades have been offered in the lower tracks which limits the alternatives available to weaker pupils.

In summary, even though the expectations were different, there has been no evidence that the revised system has raised the general achievement level or provided greater opportunity for occupational success even though the courses of study have become more rigorous. In addition, the low level tracks still carry with them a relatively low status, similar to that in the former system. A positive aspect of the revision is the fact that those students who do complete the required four years have better chances for future mobility (research has shown that the more years spent in any school framework, the greater the potential for upward mobility).

Having identified the major dilemma facing the vocational education system – the conflict between preparing high-quality manpower and the need to respond to the problems of under-resourced pupils – and having described some ways it has chosen to respond to this dilemma, Dr. Reuven Kahane and Ms. Laura Starr, two researchers from the NCJW Research Institute, began a series of studies. They note in an article on the subject that there are three general patterns which emerge as educational systems attempt to deal with such conflicting pressures:

1) Increasing the differentiation between and within educational networks;
2) Responding mainly to one pressure; and
3) Developing mechanisms to bridge the gap between the conflicting functions.

They further add:

"The unique Israeli situation has fostered an educational system which combines options (1) and (2). Through its specific pattern of differentiation, it has responded more to economic pressures to maintain high standards than to those exerted by under-resourced pupils. This response, as has been shown, seems to have had an exaggerated impact on class and ethnic conflicts.

In many other developing societies one can detect an implicit or explicit tendency to choose a variation of the second alternative, usually to maintain lower standards and to absorb as many aspirants as possible. By means of this policy, frustration resulting from limited access to education is prevented, but the risk of producing unsuitable manpower with exaggerated expectations is increased. Thus, in either case, the solution may have socially injurious effects."*

The researchers' goal was to discover how the third alternative, the development of strategies which would allow the educational system to fulfill both of its crucial functions simultaneously, could best be put into effect. To this end, they have to date studied the role of the technical teacher and proposed its partial redefinition, they have revealed the advantages and disadvantages of various patterns of vocational education, and they have begun a study of the composition of technological curriculum.

Kahane and Starr turned to an investigation of the role of the technical teacher in an attempt to discern the degree and ways in which it could act as a mediating mechanism between the two major educational functions. They chose to focus on this role for two reasons: 1) it is unique to vocational education and 2) those who fulfill it possess resources which differ from those usually held by teachers. Thus, it cannot be assumed that the behavior of the technical teacher will be similar to that of the much investigated behavior of the "average" secondary school teacher.

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* Reuven Kahane and Laura Starr, "The Impact of Rapid Social Change on Technological Education: An Israeli Example," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 20, No.2, 1976.

The dilemma which confronts the technical teacher is similar to that of the general educational system. To some extent, his is a later version of the role of the "master" who was responsible not only for the apprentice's acquisition of the skills of a specific trade, but also for his broader development. However, due to the demands of modern technology, the difficulty of dealing with these two functions is felt more acutely by the technical teacher; he is expected to impart the knowledge and develop the skills required for rapidly changing occupational roles, while also being expected to communicate socially accepted values and norms. Often, the performance style effective for execution of the first function is inadequate for, or even conflicts with, the style required for carrying out the other. Consequently, a teacher either must choose which aspect of his role to emphasize or be equipped to adjust his behavior constantly to the objectives of particular learning situations, an almost impossible alternative.

This situation is more problematic given that technological or vocational studies generally emphasize the development of technical skills, as stated before. To impart broader meaning in this area is clearly more difficult (at least by accepted methods of formal education) than it is in humanistic fields such as history, literature, or Bible. As a result, it seems that most technical teachers prefer in practice to emphasize the skill development aspect of their roles.

The researchers set out consequently to examine the various strategies adopted by the technical teacher in response to his role dilemma. It was hypothesized that the nature of his personal resources as well as the school context in which he performed his role would be the determining factors. Resources in this context refer to the quantity and quality of usable knowledge a teacher has acquired in either the technical or the pedagogical areas; where the technical means the theoretical and practical knowledge of a trade and the pedagogical, training in various aspects of the educational process. School context refers to the way in which the school is organized and the ability level of its pupils. The portion of the research presented here will focus on the impact of the above two elements on the role orientation or performance style of the technical teacher.

Two hundred and eighty-seven male technical teachers were randomly sampled from thirteen Israeli vocational schools by means of a questionnaire. The resources of these teachers differed widely. If formal education in the technical area, which is one of several indicators of the level of technical resources*, and the possession of a teaching certificate, one of several indicators of the level of pedagogical resources, are considered, the following is revealed: One third (35.9%) of the technical teachers have technical resources acquired at the secondary school level, another third (36.1%) at the post-secondary level (technicians and practical engineers), and the last third (28.0%) at the academic level (engineers). On the other hand, two-fifths of the teachers (39.5%) have not undergone any pedagogical training, although it is usually those teachers who possess low or medium level technical resources who have teaching certification (about three-quarters). Thus, to a certain degree, there appears to be a trade-off between technical and pedagogical resources. The system appears to waive the second qualification if the first is of a sufficiently high level.

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* These teachers could also have acquired additional technical resources through on-the-job training or through experiences while performing a trade. Although these data are available, they will not be presented here.

Concerning school context, schools can be organized in a bureaucratic or in a professional manner. For instance, in the first case, decisions are made by administrators and carried out by teachers, while in the second, teachers make and implement decisions themselves. Five of the schools studied appear to be of the first type and eight of the second. Teachers can be rewarded on the basis of the achievements of their pupils and/or on the basis of their professional commitment, as expressed, for example, by seniority. Of the schools sampled, six appear to reward teachers primarily on the basis of their pupils' achievements, six on the basis of achievements and seniority, and one on the basis of seniority alone. Moreover, schools differ according to the learning abilities of their pupils: five schools contained pupils of below-average abilities, four with a wide range of abilities, and four schools contained pupils with above-average abilities. It was hypothesized that differences among schools would affect the performance styles preferred by the technical teachers working in them.

Role orientation or performance style was found to be influenced by both resources and context. What is interesting to note is that it is mostly technical resources which determine orientation, while the possession of pedagogical resources rarely makes a difference. Teachers possessing extensive theoretical, technologically oriented resources tend to prefer this aspect of their teaching role, and those possessing developed applied resources, for example from extended experience in industry , tend to emphasize the normative aspects, such as precision, order or safety and the organizational aspects, such as giving and receiving instructions or joint decision-making. Schools which reward teachers on the basis of their pupils' achievements alone appear to encourage teachers to prefer a skill-oriented performance style. This is only natural because achievements in this area are more visible and measurable.

The only influence that possessing pedagogical resources seems to have is in regard to an extra investment some committed teachers make to students. They are more likely to try and deal with developing the area of values and norms in addition to the regular course work. On the whole, however, the fact that a technical teacher has had training in education has little influence on his performance style. Thus, the investigators have concluded that the way technical teachers are socialized into their roles must be reconsidered. It is only when investment in pedagogical resources will be made meaningful in terms of both the rewards it elicits, such as a sense of personal satisfaction and worth, and better student achievement, that the technical teachers, having become aware of the relevance of such comprehensive training, will be equipped to face the challenges inherent in their conflictual role.

As a result of this research, Kahane and Starr were able to suggest a new conceptual framework for the training of technical teachers. This conception calls for their professionalization, and it is based on a model of specialized teacher roles which complement each other through a team structure. The "pedagogical" resources acquired by aspiring teachers will be based in only one social science discipline, such as sociology or psychology, but they will be at the same level as the teacher's technical resources; the engineer, for example, will have an academic degree in some area relevant to education. Thus, when the technical teacher chooses to emphasize one of his two major functions in the classroom, his choice will be informed by a whole gamut of resources, and not only by the resource which has been more fully developed. Moreover, educational functions not fulfilled by one teacher will receive attention from another with a different specialization Hence, by studying the role of the technical teacher as it is performed today in Israeli vocational schools, the investigators were able to analyze the reasons why certain functions were not being performed and suggest possible strategies for making the role of the technical teacher a more effective mechanism for mediating between the two basic functions of technological education.

The researchers then turned to an investigation of the structural composition of some of the different programs of vocational education. They chose to focus on the development of vocational identity because they consider a strong and inclusive one essential to the efficient fulfillment of the worker role. They defined this identity through a cluster of resources, some of which receive attention in the performance of the skill-oriented function and others in the performance of the social function. A worker who is secure in his technical skills but is intimidated by the "rules" of the organization or of the production process, or vice-versa, will be less effective in his performance than a worker who has an integrated vocational identity. The same is true of the worker who is strong in his immediate job but is threatened by new demands which call for a change in his behavior. Not only is a strong vocational identity thus assumed to be important for efficient production, but also for the effective integration of the individual as a contributing member of society.

The research investigated four of the programs of vocational education described earlier: the regular vocational track, the practical vocational track, industrial programs and apprenticeship programs. (The academic vocational track was not investigated because the study concentrated on programs absorbing large proportions of disadvantaged youth only). The structure and content of the curricula of the different programs were analyzed in terms of the type of worker they could be expected to produce. In 1975, questionnaires were administered to 1180 students studying electricity and mechanics in fifteen vocational schools (some schools contained more than one program) in grades ten, eleven, and twelve.

The first finding to become apparent, even before the data were processed, was the large number of students who drop out of these programs before completing their studies. Thus, the investigators "detoured" from their original plan in order to examine the degree to which the programs sampled succeed in "holding" their pupils, an effort they justified on the assumption that a strong and inclusive vocational identity can be built only through a "total" process of socialization in the school setting. What interested Kahane and Starr was the identification of those characteristics of the different programs which "held" pupils. They did this by first trying to understand what caused students to leave.

In the spring of 1976 and of 1977, additional data, including school grades and "official" reasons for leaving school, were collected for students who had been sampled in grades ten or eleven. The term "leaver" was used to describe any student who interrupted his studies before he had completed twelve years of a particular program.* The data showed that nearly half (46%) of the students had left their programs of study. Moreover, the lower the status of the program attended, the greater the proportion of leaving.

Deducting all those who left their programs for some legitimate reason (army call-up, attendance in an alternative educational framework, early completion), the dropout rate appeared to be approximately two-fifths of the students in the study. This was comprised of one-third of the students in the regular vocational, practical-vocational, and industrial programs, and of one-half of the students in the apprenticeship program (see Table Two). This phenomenon could stem either from a greater variation in the abilities of pupils in the apprenticeship program, making it more difficult to create a single program which could deal adequately with such a situation, or from a lack of the flexibility required to deal with widely differing individual needs. Whatever the case, it seems that the four programs of vocational education studied responded adequately to the needs of only a maximum of two-thirds of their pupils.

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* The official programs require the completion of four years after grade eight or three years after grade nine, although pupils in the practical, apprenticeship and industrial programs have an option of early completion.

TABLE TWO

Leavers from the Vocational-Technological Educational System*

Program	Total Number of Participants	Total Number of Leavers		Total Number of Dropouts (those who left without any legitimate reason)	
	N	N	%	N	%
Regular Vocational Programs	411	156	38.0	137	33.3
Practical Vocational Programs	216	102	47.2	73	33.8
Industrial School Programs	104	45	43.3	36	34.6
Apprenticeship School Programs	212	135	63.7	119	56.1
TOTAL	943	438	46.4	365	38.7

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* Data taken from:
L. Starr and R. Kahane, *Holding Power: An Analysis of School Leaving and Drop Out from the Technological Education System in Israel* (Preliminary report), Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, The NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education, July 1978, Table 1.

Hypotheses were developed regarding the components of the programs which could have accounted for the "dropout" rate. Among the factors investigated were grades on both the conventional and unique aspects of vocational education, school attractiveness, commitment to vocational education, commitment to trade studied, and occupational expectations. The strength of these factors as predictors of dropping out were expected to vary from program to program due to the particular structural features of each, after the basic differences in the academic abilities of students in each program were taken into consideration. For example, industrial and apprenticeship programs ideally put less emphasis on grades as measures of achievement than do other programs, and, therefore, grades should be weaker predictors of potential dropouts. Further, vocational education often encourages non-conventional achievements based on technical abilities and therefore, students proving themselves in this area should be as unlikely to drop out as students proving themselves in the intellectual sphere. This should certainly be the case regarding the programs supervised by the Ministry of Labor and Welfare as opposed to the Ministry of Education which traditionally places the highest value on intellectual achievements. Finally, trade commitment may be expected to have opposite effects in different programs. For pupils who regard education as a long-term social investment, probably pupils of the higher level programs, commitment to a trade would result in the completion of vocational programs. On the other hand, pupils already participating in the labor market (in industrial schools and apprenticeship programs) may perceive other and seemingly faster routes of mobility.

Low achievement as measured by grades was found to have the strongest relationship with dropping out for all the programs studied, although the specific subject of the course in which the grades were given also needed to be taken into consideration in order to arrive at some prediction about who would drop out. In no case was the grade in shop work significant, for example, so that, even if students succeeded in it, it did not mean that they would necessarily stay in the program. Extrapolating from this, it appears that, in actuality, the programs researched have not established technical proficiency as an alternative criterion for success in vocational education, even though it is clear that there are many students who could excel in this area and use such proficiency productively in the job market.

School attractiveness refers to interest in school and was measured by the degree of interest pupils expressed in their formal and non-formal school activities. It was hypothesized that the more attractive programs would hold a larger proportion of their pupils than the less attractive programs. Although this was found to be the case when the investigators examined the relationship between school attractiveness and pupils' expectations to complete their program of studies, it was not found to be so when the relationship between school attractiveness and actual dropping out was studied. It appears that pupils drop out of programs of vocational education due to more immediate considerations. Perhaps the relatively limited number of educational alternatives open to them deters them from dropping out due to lack of interest.

Trade commitment and occupational expectations acted as predictors only in some of the programs and usually in combination with other factors. In the regular vocational program, relatively low occupational expectations and limited trade commitment lead to dropping out, and vice-versa, while high occupational expectations lead to dropping out in the apprenticeship program. Thus, it seems that in some programs the relationship between present study and future occupational attainment is clear to pupils, while in others, different routes appear more viable.

Based on this analysis, the investigators were able to propose two major modifications in the programs of vocational education studies in order to increase their "holding power": 1) the institutionalization of grades in shop work as equivalent in importance to grades in more intellectual areas, and 2) the clarification of what opportunities will be available to pupils upon completion of a given program of study.

After examining the "holding power" of the different programs of vocational education, the investigators returned to their study of the development of vocational identity. Vocational identity was perceived as being based on three elements: 1) the degree of development of basic usable resources, skills and norms, 2) the degree of flexibility in adjusting to changes in machine types and work procedures, and 3) the degree of motivation to implement resources. A worker who is confident of his facility in the use and adaptation of resources and who is motivated to do so will not only be an effective worker but will also be active in determining his occupational opportunities and career.

It was hypothesized that programs with different types of curricula would affect differentially the development of vocational identity. Programs which emphasized the practice of basic resources, skills and norms in "real" situations would promote confidence in their implementation. Thus it was expected that, on the average, pupils in the industrial school and apprenticeship programs would develop stronger identities regarding basic vocational resources than pupils in the regular and practical vocational programs. This was found to be the case for the apprenticeship program but more so with regard to the development of norms than of skills. It appears that, when the demands of the work situation are mitigated, the facility to comply with the normative expectations of the worker role is less developed. This is less the case with regard to the development of skills, since the demands of the particular technology studied are central to all programs of vocational education, even though less "real" in the ones which utilize a school setting for all or most of the training.

On the other hand, it was hypothesized that flexibility would be more developed in programs which emphasized trade theory and practice in simulated shop settings allowing for unlimited trial and error. Thus, the regular vocational track (which includes both of the above) was expected to develop this element more than the practical vocational and industrial schools programs (which includes the second), which in turn were expected to develop this element more than the apprenticeship programs (which includes neither). This, in fact, was found to be the case.

From the above findings, it appears that, of the programs studied, the ones that develop a strong identity regarding the first element (basic resources), develop a weaker identity regarding the second element (flexibility), and vice-versa. The underlying dilemma facing vocational education thus surfaces once again, but under a different guise: low-level, practically-oriented programs such as the apprenticeship program encourage the development of the basic resources required for the immediate work role, yet flexibility is more effectively developed in high-level, theoretically-oriented programs and those which allow for trial and error.

The third element, motivation, was examined through an investigation of the develoment of occupational expectations within the context of an inconsistent educational system. As mentioned previously, programs of vocational education are differentiated according to content and level of curricula. However, they are not differentiated according to the nature of the credentials awarded. They all produce certified skilled workers. In light of this phenomenon, it was expected that the tendency for the higher level programs to create greater expectations would be mitigated by the similar opportunities available to all pupils who complete any one of the programs studied.

The occupational expectations of the students in the research sample, in fact, ranged from the position of engineer to that of semi-skilled worker. The greatest number of pupils expected to become skilled workers (46%), while the smallest number, semi-skilled workers (3%). The highest level position, that of engineer, was anticipated by 6% of the students.

Indeed, as expected, the higher the input level of the program, the higher the average level of occupational expectation. Furthermore, the higher the grade and program of study, the greater the proportion of students who nurtured expectations of positions higher than those made available by completion of the program. Thus, it appears that programs of vocational education in Israel tend to encourage maximal occupational expectations. The question remains as to whether expectations of this kind will cause the worker to pursue all possible opportunities for improvement by implementing his resources as effectively as possible, or whether the opportunity structure of the labor market in Israel will frustrate him in his attempts. This query will receive an answer only after the second stage of the research, which is a follow-up study of graduates of programs of vocational education, is completed.

In conclusion, it appears that, while all the programs of vocational education studied encourage expectations for mobility, there is a specific relationship between the development of basic resources and flexibility. The program which nurtures the former to the greatest extent emphasizes the latter least, and the opposite. Therefore, due to the present structure of the curricula of existing programs, one resource is developed at the expense of the others. Consequently, Kahane and Starr, with the aid of a project grant from the Ministry of Labor and Welfare, have conceptualized a new curricular structure in which it is hypothesized that this trade-off would be eliminated. It is based on a concept of a three-faceted structure of resource acquisition: 1) the theoretical or conceptual facet, 2) the training or "moratorium" facet, and 3) the "real" facet. In the first facet, the pupil considers the principles underlying the resource and its use; in the second, he tries out the resource in several partially-controlled environments, and in the third, he implements the resource within a real existing framework. Through participation in programs which will have different emphases, based on this three-faceted structure, the investigators propose that students will be more likely to acquire both the skills and social resources required to effectively perform the worker's role. Thus, through their study of different programs of vocational education, Kahane and Starr have proposed a curricular structure which might mediate more effectively between the two major functions of vocational education. Further support for this model is anticipated when the project on technological curriculum is completed.

There is little doubt that there is a relationship between vocational education and industrial behavior. Considering the rapid rate of technological and social change, the question arises, however, whether it is preferable to develop specific in-depth vocational resources or broad, less specific resources which will help the worker adjust to the changing labor market. Regardless of the answer to this question, the dilemma facing countries such as Israel which are in the process of rapid modernization remains: how to produce well-qualified manpower while providing appropriate educational and employment opportunities for the disadvantaged. The research presented here has shown that Israel's present pattern of differentiation of occupational socialization has not altogether alleviated the problems incurred in performing these functions. It is hoped that, as a result of the research, the vocational education system will be able to be more successful in fulfilling its two most important goals simultaneously.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ETHNIC INTEGRATION IN ISRAEL
A Comparative Case Study of Moroccan Brothers
Who Settled in France and in Israel

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CHAPTER SEVEN

ETHNIC INTEGRATION IN ISRAEL

A Comparative Case Study of Moroccan Brothers Who Settled in France and in Israel

Israel is a multi-ethnic nation. Its Jewish population comes from many different countries, speaks a wide variety of languages and dialects and embraces different cultural traditions. One of the larger groups of immigrants is that of the Moroccans who encompass approximately twenty percent of the total Afro-Asian community, or some two hundred thousand people. Like other newcomers, they received, when they immigrated, the privileges automatically accorded to Jews under the Law of Return, but the majority of them today in fact are part of the lower socio-economic strata. This is partially because many Moroccans came without the neccesary resources to integrate easily into an industrial society, and brought with them a cultural tradition which favored large families and certain modes of behavior not congruent with that of the veteran population or with the norms of many of the societal institutions in Israel. Although these facts could be adequate in explaining the Moroccans' low social status, it is also felt by them and others that social policies and individual attitudes have been discriminatory. On the other hand, it should be noted that some research has supported the theory that lower socio-economic groups often feel such a sense of discrimination, a finding that may or may not be valid concerning the specific case of the Moroccan Jews.

In the fall of 1971, a student movement called "ODED", a word meaning "encouragement", held its first conference in Israel. This movement was founded in Paris in the early 1960's by a group of North African Jewish university students to establish an institutional link between Israel and second generation North African Jews in France. As it turned out, the movement appealed primarily to students of Moroccan background, several hundred of whom eventually immigrated to Israel. In contrast to the average Moroccan immigrant in Israel, these young men and women had university educations, few, if any, family dependents, and were not of a deprived socio-economic background.

During the conference, the delegates from ODED voiced strong personal feelings and frustration about ethnic discrimination in Israel. They contended that, even though they were not at all disadvantaged, the Israeli social system discriminated against them, not to speak of the average Moroccan. As further proof of their claims, they cited the fact that their siblings and cousins who had remained in France had already achieved significantly higher social status than they had in Israel. It was this observation which raised the question that eventually became the basis of a cross-cultural comparison between Jews of Moroccan background in Israel and France.

The present research was consequently a direct outgrowth of this conference. It set out to ascertain the accuracy of the students' claims, to understand the social processes involved and possibly to suggest various solutions to remedy the situation. The research attempted to compare the achievement levels and attitudes of pairs of Moroccan brothers, one of whom immigrated to France and the other to Israel at approximately the same time. As a baseline for interpreting and comparing results, a group of Rumanian Jewish immigrants, including teenagers where possible, was included in the study as a control group.

Data on sixty-six sets of Moroccan brothers was collected in the fall of 1973 and the middle of 1974* by means of comprehensive interviews conducted in the language of the respondents. Interviewing in France and Israel was done by the same team so that the conditions would be as similar as possible. The brothers making up the sample were matched with regard to age at immigration (eighteen years or more), time span of immigration (within five years of each other), and period of immigration (after 1947, but before 1968). An examination of the selection procedure showed that the brothers who had emigrated to France and to Israel were reasonably well-matched on basic socio-educational variables, except in terms of occupation. The study also included one child of each brother so that comparative data between the generations could be gathered.**

The control group was made up of eighty-two male Jewish Rumanian immigrants from the Jerusalem area drawn at random from the central citizen's registry. As in the Moroccan sample, those chosen for the study had to have emigrated as adults within the period of 1948 to 1967. It is, as a group, of a higher socio-economic status than the Moroccan; this must be kept in mind as comparisons are made.

The Rumanians were chosen as a control group for several reasons. Firstly, the number of both Rumanian and Moroccan Jews presently living in France and Israel is very similar: approximately 50,000 of each group lives in France and 250,000 in Israel. Secondly, both in time and in structure, the Rumanian immigration waves followed a pattern more or less similar to that of the Moroccans. The Moroccan and Rumanian Jews came to Israel in two waves: in the late forties and early fifties (1948-1956), and again in the late fifties and early sixties (1957-1967). The first wave was composed of people of relatively low socio-economic status and the second wave was composed of predominantly middle-class immigrants. The Moroccan and Rumanian communities also shared a number of similar characteristics in terms of their countries of origin: both had a rural, traditional element and both aspired to western European culture. Both groups also suffered from severe lack of security in the 1940's and 1950's. In the one case, communism followed in the wake of the Holocaust, making Rumania inhospitable for those Jews who had survived. In the other, growing Arab nationalism undermined the safety of the Jewish community.

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* The field work was interrupted because of the 1973 Yom Kippur War.

** These children were for the most part older teenagers, although in a few cases they were in their early twenties. It should be noted that, unlike the case of the first generation, the sample of children included both males and females. Not every brother studied provided a child, either because one didn't exist, the age was not suitable, or the child was unavailable.

A comparison of the two groups prior to and after immigration called attention to a number of differences as well. Although both communities comprised about two percent of the population of their respective countries of origin and constituted nearly twenty percent of the number of immigrants coming to Israel from 1948 to the end of the 1960's, the majority of the Rumanians came to Israel between 1948-1951 (51%), whereas the largest number of Moroccans immigrated between 1962-1965 (38%). Hence, in terms of number of years in Israel, the Rumanian community was more established. With regard to the average age of the individual immigrant upon arrival, the Moroccans were younger than the Rumanians. Additionally, Moroccan girls tended to marry earlier both prior to and after immigration and to have larger families. Thus, in retrospect, it seems likely that the Rumanians had a larger proportion of employable adults as well as a lower proportion of dependent children at the time of immigration.

A comparison of the two communities concerning educational achievements revealed that a larger percentage of the Moroccan community had never attended schools and that, among women, the percentage approached 50%. Forty-two percent of Rumanians had twelve years of schooling whereas only 16% of the Moroccan Israelis had similar education. Thus, the Rumanian community was better equipped educationally upon arrival in Israel than was the Moroccan community.* Finally, in 1965, twice as many Rumanians as Moroccans lived in one of the major cities of Israel or in veteran urban settlements, while a majority of the Moroccans lived in newly-founded development towns. Since these towns had very little variety of opportunity at the beginning, the majority of Rumanians had the advantage of living in settings which provided far better opportunities than those available to the Moroccans

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* These findings are from post-immigration data gathered in 1961 and are assumed to reflect pre-immigration differences between the two communities.

(see Table 1). In summary, Table 2 gives a short synopsis of selected background differences between the Moroccan and Rumanian samples.

TABLE 1 *

Percentage Distribution of Moroccan and Rumanian Jews in Israel by Type of Settlement, 1965.

Type of Settlement	Rumanians	Moroccans
Three major cities	31	14
Other cities and veteran urban settlements	35	16
New cities and urban settlements	27	60
Veteran rural settlements	2	2
New rural settlements	5	8
	100	100

* All Tables in this chapter are taken from Inbar, Michael and Chaim Adler, *Ethnic Integration in Israel. A Comparative Case Study of Moroccan Brothers Who Settled in France and in Israel*. Transaction Books, New Jersey, 1977.

The present study focuses on three specific areas. The first concerns what effect immigration had on the first generation of immigrants in terms of basic socio-economic variables (occupation, income, housing, educational achievement of the children and social integration.) The second deals with the immigrants' attitudes and perceptions regarding social integration, and the third with the relationship between the actual living conditions of the first generation in the sample and two specific policies relating to their absorption into the country, those dealing with housing and with occupational integration. Finally, comparisons were conducted between the first and second generations in both countries with regard to attitudes and perceptions towards integration.

In the first area of investigation, the following results were obtained. The Moroccan French were found to be the most successful group in terms of occupation after immigration, followed by the Rumanian Israelis, and, finally, by the Moroccan Israelis. Although the distribution of the data concerning occupation upon arrival in the country of immigration was more or less similar for all three groups, (Table 2, section c), each one demonstrated a different pattern of occupational mobility thereafter. The Moroccan Israelis experienced the most severe downward mobility, while their brothers in France were more upwardly mobile.

TABLE 2

Distribution of Subsamples on Selected Background Characteristics

	Moroccans in Israel		Moroccans in France		Rumanians in Israel	
(a) Age	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
Up to 40	18	(30)	17	(28)	7	(9)
41-50	20	(33)	24	(39)	39	(48)
51+	23	(37)	20	(33)	36	(43)
Total	61	(100)	61	(100)	82	(100)
(b) Date of immigration						
1948-56	32	(53)	29	(48)	20	(26)
1957-67	28	(47)	31	(52)	58	(74)
Total	60	(100)	60	(100)	78	(100)
(c) Occupation prior to emigration						
Unskilled workers	3	(5)	5	(9)	9	(12)
Skilled workers & clerks	21	(40)	26	(47)	43	(60)
Small businessmen & artisans	28	(50)	19	(35)	10	(14)
Managers & professionals	3	(5)	5	(9)	(10)	(14)
Total	55	(100)	55	(100)	72	(100)
(d) Years of education						
Up to 5 years	17	(26)	18	(27)	6	(7)
6-11 years	37	(56)	32	(49)	41	(51)
12 or more years	12	(18)	16	(24)	34	(42)
Total	66	(100)	66	(100)	81	(100)

The Rumanian Israelis were in-between with a slight trend downwards.

In an attempt to understand these findings more clearly, the researchers looked at the data concerning occupation immediately after immigration, taking into consideration differences in education and period of immigration, in order to see if the patterns discerned were constant over time. To their surprise, they found all three groups at this stage of their life were downwardly mobile although the degree varied for each group. With the passage of time, however, the Moroccan French not only offset their original setback but gained significantly. While the Rumanian Israelis were for the most part able to compensate for the original downward mobility, the Moroccan Israelis were not able to do so.

The researchers attempted to assess the effect of immigration on income by asking, first of all, what the subject's attitude towards it was. They found that both the Moroccan Israelis and the Rumanian Israelis aspired to nearly identical monthly incomes in 1973-1974.* Both groups also indicated that they would require a substantial sum in additional earnings in order to live as they wished, although Moroccan Israelis indicated a need for slightly more additional earnings (ten percent). Assessing actual income, for which exact figures were not available, through deducting additional income needed from the aspired income (assuming that the respondents based these figures on real income), the Moroccan and Rumanian groups were found to be similar, which on the surface seems to point to an egalitarian distribution of resources. The researchers, however, contend that this apparent similarity is misleading. The average Moroccan Israeli family had seven members as opposed to four for the Rumanians so that the per capita income for each respective group was very different. Thus what appeared as *prima facie* equality was in fact not so, making it clear that the Moroccan Israelis had a much lower level of income per individual than the Rumanians and certainly than their French brothers.

Interesting differences between the three sample groups were identified when examining the effect of immigration on housing. The Moroccan Israelis were the least satisfied with their apartments, neighborhoods and neighbors. Fifty-five per cent of them owned their apartments as opposed to seventy-three per cent of the Rumanians. On the other hand, the apartment size of both Israeli groups was more or less equal (2.7 rooms to 2.8 rooms), in contrast to the Moroccan French who lived in larger apartments (3.6 rooms). The researchers pointed out, however, that, similar to their findings about income, family size resulted in *de facto* discrimination concerning living space against the Moroccan Israelis. The density of living quarters for the Moroccan French was 1.34 persons per room. In contrast, the housing density of Rumanian Israelis resembled that of Moroccan French. The Moroccan Israelis once again turned out to be the most deprived group.

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* Due to methodological problems, the researchers have been very careful about making cross-national monetary comparisons and, for the most part, refrain from including them in this analysis.

To assess the level of education after immigration, the researchers looked at the number of school years completed by the children of the respondents who had grown up in their respective new countries. More were completed by Rumanian Israelis then by Moroccan French, and the least completed by Moroccan Israelis. These differences are explained in various ways but emphasized is a socio-economic interpretation. The researchers contend that children in modern societies are an economic burden, and they account for some of the differences in educational achievement by differences in family size. The Rumanian Israelis had two children per family on the average, while the Moroccan French had four and the Moroccan Israelis five. When family size was taken into consideration, the researchers found that the differences between the three sub-samples concerning educational levels disappeared completely (see Table 3). The researchers suggest consequently that it might be possible to explain these differences by family size rather than by cultural and ethnic variables, as is usually done.

TABLE 3

Relation among Subsamples Differences in Average Years of School Attendance with Differences in Average Family Size

Subsamples Compared	Difference in Average No. of Children	Difference in No. of Years of School Completed	Ratio of Cols. B to A
Israeli Moroccans – French Moroccans	4.79 – 3.88 = 1	9.13 – 9.89 =.76	-.76
French Moroccans – Rumanians	3.88 – 1.80 = 2	9.89 – 11.44 = 1.55	-.77
Israeli Moroccans – Rumanians	4.79 – 1.80 = 3	9.13 – 11.44 =-2.31	-.77

In their investigation of eductional achievements, a remarkable finding emerged. Several years prior to Inbar and Adler's study, M. Martan presented a case study based on a small agricultural village in Israel composed solely of Moroccan settlers (1972).* Martan's data reported that the older the children were at the time of their immigration, the greater were their chances of gaining admittance into colleges, and, contrary to any common-sense explanation, the inverse also held true: the younger the children were at the time of their immigration, the less their chances. The only feasible interpretation of this finding at the time seemed to be that the Israeli educational system discriminated against children of Moroccan descent; the longer they attended Israeli schools, the less their chances of receiving a higher education.

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* M. Martan, "A Comparative Study of the Inhabitants of the Cooperative Village of 'Yad Rambam' and the Inhabitants of the Town of 'Sarcelles' (France)." Rehovot, Israel: The Weizman Institute of Science, 1972 (Mimeographed Report).

Adler and Inbar decided to investigate this phenomenon further. They inquired into the current age of all the respondents' children, the date of their immigration, and which children of the appropriate age had been admitted into college. The "Martan" phenomenon was indeed duplicated, although with a slight modification.* A curvilinear relationship between age at time of immigration and acceptance to college was revealed. Children who were up to 5 years old or more than 12 years old upon immigration had a greater chance of admittance into college than those who were 6-11 years old upon immigration. The surprising and interesting point, however, was that the same effect was noticeable in all three sub-samples. Inbar and Adler, after examining several alternative explanations, concluded that it was obviously not discriminatory practices in the Israeli educational system which caused this situation. What was uncovered, rather, was a heretofore unknown effect which was termed "the vulnerable age".** The researchers postulated that this phenomenon was related to the problems caused for children who changed countries and school systems at certain ages.***

Regarding social integration, the third effect of immigration studied, the data revealed that the Moroccans in France were the least socially integrated group, while the Rumanians were the most socially integrated. In terms of number of friends, ethnic origin of these friends, and psychological closeness to or dependence upon relatives, the Moroccan French in particular gave the image of a secluded, perhaps even isolated, group. Examination of attitudes and perceptions also showed that the Moroccan French felt that there was more ethnic prejudice in France than their brothers or the Rumanian Israelis felt in Israel. Furthermore, nearly half of the Moroccan French believed that ethnic stratification would never end in their country, compared to less than twenty-five per cent of the Moroccan and Rumanian Israelis. On the basis of these and additional findings, the researchers concluded that the overwhelming majority of the Rumanian and Moroccan Israelis do not think of themselves in ethnic terms, whereas the Moroccan French do. One possible conclusion to be drawn is that the Moroccan French are paying a price for their economic mobility and success, the cost of which is a sense of social estrangement.

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* This modification was also found to apply to Martan's data.

** See M. Inbar and C. Adler, "The Vulnerable Age: A Serendiptuous Finding", *Sociology of Education* 49 (July), 1976, pp. 193-200. Subsequent secondary analysis by Inbar on relevant data from larger samples established the effect of "the vulnerable age" under conditions of immigration beyond any doubt.

*** The researchers' finding of a relationship between age at the time of immigration and educational level opens up an entirely new field of research with both theoretical and practical implications. The focusing of attention on specific age groups, whose "vulnerability" may have been overlooked, could lead to the formulation of new educational policies.

On the other hand, even though the Moroccan French had the greatest awareness and pessimism about prejudice, they generally reported not having personally experienced anti-semitism. Rather, it was the Moroccan Israelis who reported concrete instances of prejudice, in spite of their optimism about the future disappearance of ethnic discrimination.

Table Four indicates that these instances of discrimination can be traced primarily to the institutional sphere, in particular, to housing and work. The researchers suggested that these contradicting trends could lie in the different expectations that the brothers had of their respective countries. It seems plausible that the Israeli Moroccans expected to be accepted and treated in an egalitarian manner and, as a result, were extremely sensitive to discriminatory practices, while the Moroccans in France did not take such acceptance for granted (see Table Four).

TABLE 4

Percent of Personal Experiences of Ethnic Discrimination

	Moroccan Israelis	Moroccan French	Rumanians
None	52	84	83
Yes (unspecified)	31	11	12
Yes, housing	10	–	1
Yes, work	5	2	4
Yes, (other)	1	3	–
	100	100	100
	(N=62)	(N=62)	(N=78)

In an effort to reveal the reasons why the Moroccan Israelis felt victimized by discrimination, Inbar and Adler decided to examine government absorption policies as experienced by the study's subjects, especially those concerned with housing and employment. Several introductory remarks are required in order to understand the context of the reality from which the findings were taken. In Israel, one of the social services supplied by the State is the allocation of apartments to new immigrants as a means of helping them to integrate into the society. The location of this housing, of course, determines in part what work and educational opportunities are available; the more central and urban the location is, the more varied the choices in these areas. The absorption authorities, cognizant of this situation, have developed a flexible position over the years, where the new immigrant can either receive a government-owned apartment with an option to buy or rent, or, alternatively, he can buy or rent an apartment on the free market with government assistance in the form of low interest loans. In the early years of immigration, however, immigrants without independent means were first settled in *maabarot**, where they waited for a government apartment sometimes yet unbuilt.

Upon arrival, both Rumanian and Moroccan Israeli immigrants lived in such *maabarot*. Each group benefitted subsequently from governmental housing privileges, and each group received similar sized apartments (1.9 rooms on the average for the Rumanians versus 1.8 rooms for the Moroccans), a fact which points to general equality in housing policies. At a closer look, however, a somewhat different picture emerges. Whereas nearly half of the Rumanian Israelis (forty-seven per cent) took advantage of different alternatives made possible by diversified housing policies, only eighteen per cent of the Moroccan Israelis were offered and/or made use of housing loans or were given rental assistance on the free market.**

However, concerning the allocation of governmental apartments, the researchers found evidence at odds with the notion of equality of opportunity. On the average, Moroccan Israelis spent nearly twice as long in *maabarot* than did Rumanian Israelis. Moreover, when divided by period of immigration (1948-1956, or 1957-1967), the average residence in *maabarot* for Moroccan Israelis increased from four to six months during the second period of immigration, whereas the Rumanian Israelis' total period of residence remained constant at two months. In investigating this striking difference, the researchers looked at its relationship to level of education and period of immigration.

Because of the living conditions in the *maabarot*, whoever could

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* These are like shanty towns with few basic services which were provided for immigrants throughout the 1950's. At first the immigrants lived in tents and subsequently in corrugated huts.

** Whether this can be attributed to different cultural backgrounds or individual preference was a question to which the researchers could not address themselves with the data at hand.

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move out did so as quickly as possible. One would expect that those with higher education would leave at the earliest opportunity, but, surprisingly, the researchers found an inverse relationship between education and length of stay in *maabarot* for the Moroccan Israelis, and a direct relationship for the Rumanian Israelis. For the former group, the higher the level of education, the less time spent in *maabarot* (Table 5). Inbar and Adler interpreted this finding to mean that Rumanian Israelis with higher education stayed longer than was necessary as a way of exerting pressure to get the best possible housing available, whereas their Moroccan peers accepted whatever offer was made to them in fear that a future choice might be less attractive. With regard to the less educated respondents, the researchers found that the Rumanian Israelis in this category appeared to have accepted whatever housing offer was made to them, while the Moroccan Israelis with comparable education had to wait a significant period of time before any offer was made to them at all.

TABLE 5

Average Number of Months Spent in
a Maabara
by Classification on Two Variables

Period of Immigration	Level of Education	Israeli Moroccans Months	(N)	Israeli Rumanians Months	(N)
1	1	8	(8)	0	(2)
1	2	3	(21)	0	(9)
1	3	0	(4)	4	(9)
2	1	18	(5)	0	(4)
2	2	4	(16)	2	(30)
2	3	2	(8)	3	(24)

A similar picture emerged with regard to choice of geographical location. More Rumanian Israelis than Moroccan Israelis were given a choice in cities and established towns of residence (43%-12%). This was also true when level of education was taken into consideration; the more educated Moroccan Israelis seem to have been given a choice of location more similar to the choice given to uneducated Rumanian Israelis than to educated Rumanian Israelis, and educated Rumanian Israelis were given more choices than were the educated Moroccan Israelis. This implies that there existed a meritorial ranking order not only within each community but between the communities as well. The conclusion of the researchers is that there was a distinct difference in how the two communities were treated and that belonging to one ethnic group or the other affected the individual's future in relation to housing in a discriminatory way.

Integration into the labor market seems to have proceeded in similar fashion. The immigrant's first job was often gotten with government aid, although his own initiative was equally important. As in other areas, the data indicated that more Moroccan Israelis had problems finding their first job than did their brothers in France, or the Rumanians in Israel. One explanation for this might be in fact that the Rumanians took more initiative. This pattern of greater self-reliance also could account in part for the fact that the Rumanians were able to compensate for their initial downward mobility, as was noted previously.

The researchers, however, sought other explanations as well. The immigrant s housing location may have played an important role in determining his occupational choices and, therefore, his social integration. While more Rumanian Israelis were in the urban centers and established towns, as mentioned before, the Moroccan Israelis were relegated to development towns in out-lying areas where they were forced to rely to a greater extent on institutional help and guidance. Also, when the number of choices given to applicants requesting occupational help was considered, the Rumanian Israeli, although requesting help less often than the Moroccan Israelis, actually received it to a greater extent, which might have been partially due to geographical location*which determined if it were available or not.

These indicators suggest that similar inequality in regard to occupational integration into the labor market may have existed as was discovered in regard to housing. This could well account for the relatively severe downward mobility of the Moroccan Israeli respondents after their arrival in Israel.

Continuing with their analysis, the researchers compared the attitudes and perceptions of the children of the first generation respondents with those of their parents concerning social integration. Inter-generational discontinuity was the general resultant pattern particularly concerning cultural values. In all three sample groups, only about half of the children mirror their parents' attachments to the old cultural norms and customs of life, with the French children being more culturally emancipated. Regarding attitude towards family size, for instance, the children

* It should be re-emphasized that the Rumanian Israeli sample was more representative of the second wave of immigration (1957-1967), and, in all likelihood, probably enjoyed more encouragement and help from a greater network of relatives and friends who had arrived previously during the first wave of immigration (1948-1956) than the Moroccan Israelis.

of all the samples predicted a decrease, with the ideal converging on three children per family, regardless of the average number in their immediate family.

The Moroccan French children consistently show the greatest amount of inter-generational discontinuity concerning social perception, even though the Moroccan Israelis are as a rule the most optimistic by comparison with their parents on issues like, for instance, social justice or their government's concern with its citizens. Concerning self-perception, the French sub-sample stands out again as quite different. They are the ones who have lost the most and gained the least inter-generational self-esteem and sense of external control (this is striking because on these measures the first-generation respondents were very similar). Concerning their perception of themselves or society's in ethnic terms, the Moroccan French youths exhibited the greatest similarity to their fathers in comparison with the two other groups. The researchers suggest that the social uneasiness of the parents caused by the feeling of cultural discrimination may have been transmitted to, or recreated for, the second generation.

In terms of attitudes, the second generation bears a measure of resemblance to the first, although differences were observed between those living in France and those in Israel. Analysis of the sociometric data revealed that the second generation was more socially integrated than the first, and that the process of social integration occurred more quickly in France than in Israel. The reason for this, according to the researchers, may be that the social integration of the second generation is affected by the social composition of schools. In France, the Moroccan children attend public schools that are significantly more integrated than the schools attended by Moroccan children in Israel, where the great majority of the student body are of the same ethnic origin.*

On the other hand, although the process of social integration may be faster for the second generation in France, it carries with it a price, as mentioned before. The Moroccan French children have the greatest awareness of interpersonal discrimination; in contrast, their cousins in Israel and the Rumanian Israelis are relatively unaware of such discrimination. Thus, the second generation Moroccan Israelis felt a decrease in ethnic discrimination, while their French cousins felt an increase in comparison with their respective fathers.

Perhaps the most critical question dealt with by Inbar and Adler was whether the respondents wanted to leave their country of immigration or not. The answer is the most powerful indicator of overall impact of immigration and the process of integration on each of the three groups. In fact the data showed that a majority of Moroccans in France consider or plan to emigrate anew, while a similar majority of their brothers in Israel have decided to remain in spite of the difficulties experienced. This response suggests that the social discomfort of the Moroccan French outweighs their economic success, just as the national identification of the Moroccan Israelis outweighs their socio-economic grievance.* The Rumanian Israelis were the most deeply rooted in their new country. The overall pattern of responses by the second generation to this question bore a striking resemblance to the responses of their parents (Table 6). The Moroccan French children were much more likely to share their parents' desire to emigrate, while the Moroccan Israeli children were much more likely to share the desire to stay.

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* The Rumanian Israeli children attend public schools in Israel that are more integrated than those attended by the Moroccan Israeli children, but less integrated than the public schools the Moroccan French attend in France.

TABLE 6

Percent of Respondents' Answers
to the Question:
"Do You Think About the Possibility of Emigrating?"
by Generation and Ethnic Origin

	Moroccans in Israel		Moroccans in France		Rumanians in Israel	
	Fathers	Second Generation	Fathers	Second Generation	Fathers	Second Generation
No	67	74	26	22	85	85
Sometimes	30	18	43	41	11	10
Decided to leave		5	31	31	2	2
Other	3	3		6	2	3
	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(57)	(57)	(51)	(51)	(61)	(61)

In summary, the results of the study of ETHNIC INTEGRATION IN ISRAEL support the premise that housing and labor policies during Israel's formative years were not adequately geared to the needs

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* It should be noted, however, that many of the first generation Moroccan French considered emigration to Israel, even though only a handful expected to gain something in terms of ethnic comfort there.

of certain communities and resulted, in fact, in discriminatory practices where large families of certain backgrounds were concerned. The Moroccan Israelis in this case study have been the main victims of these practices. The rise of the development town emerging from the policy of "population dispersion" also negatively affected ethnic groups such as the Moroccan Israelis as mentioned in the introduction. Given that housing allocation was an important determinant of occupational choice, it may also be concluded that the labor policies were biased against certain segments of the population.

In concluding their study, the researchers make certain recommendations which they hope can remedy some of the errors of the past. First of all, they suggest that vocational education be restructured so that it is more linked to the national labor market and prestigious jobs, so that youth like the Moroccans will be more motivated to enter it and will have better opportunities afterwards. In addition, they recommend that more attention be given to the vocational education of girls, which would both contribute positively to the economic situation of the family and provide girls with economic independence, factors which ultimately help to achieve the intercommunity equality so important to Israeli society.

Still focusing on education, the researchers comment that school integration may be instrumental in promoting social integration. They point out, as other researchers have, that children from families of Afro-Asian background usually attend schools where the great majority of the student body are of the same ethnic origin. This is partially because of the housing policies which created concentrations of certain populations and subsequent homogeneous school bodies. The recent School Reform, which created integrated regional junior high schools is thus viewed by Inbar and Adler as one means of encouraging ethnic integration.

They also suggest that schools should offer courses in which the problems of large families are discussed, in particular, economic and educational problems. Research shows in fact that educational achievements are correlated to the number of siblings in the family. For these reasons, Adler and Inbar stress the importance of an educational policy which would deal with the problem of family planning.

Concerning the absorption of new immigrants, Inbar and Adler recommend that newcomers not be sent to outlying towns which makes the process of absorption more difficult and frustrating. As an alternative, they propose that new immigrants be settled in the major urban centers where, among other things, there is the possibility for vocational retraining. This might offset the downward mobility experienced by many new immigrants.

Equally as important as helping newcomers is the need to deal with the present problems of those who immigrated to Israel in the 1950's and 1960's. From the perspective of these Israelis, absorption policies today are much more sensitive to the needs of newcomers than past policies were, and the perception of this situation increases their sense of discrimination. In order to compensate for the imbalance existing between the immigrants of past years and those of today, Inbar and Adler recommend that the plight of veteran immigrants be reappraised, particularly concerning policies of housing and occupation. They suggest, for example, that it might be possible to treat veteran residents with large families and little or no education as if they were new immigrants or provide them with special programs of vocational training or retraining.

The researchers also suggest that a guaranteed annual income policy be introduced as the right of every citizen. Welfare support, as it exists today, often creates psychological dependency and sometimes social impotence, and this situation could be remedied. In the same spirit, they suggest that a policy be initiated which would provide the initial investments for people wanting to set up small businesses. Such policies might not only deal with present-day problems, but might also induce more Jews, like the Moroccans living in France, to immigrate.

In conclusion, Inbar and Adler have exposed social processes that have affected the life patterns of different immigration groups. By concentration on the implementation of housing and occupational policies, they produced evidence to support the claims made by the Moroccan immigrants to Israel that ethnic discrimination did in fact occur. Moreover, they have shown that there is a significant difference in socio-economic levels between those Jews who emigrated to Israel from Morocco and those who emigrated to France from Morocco, but also that economic success for the Moroccan Jews in France has been accompanied by marked feelings of social discomfort, in contrast to the feelings of their brothers in Israel who are more indentified with their society. Finally in the light of their findings, they have recommended policies which would avoid the errors of the past and ameliorate the resulting problems of the present, with the continuing hope that their recommendations will lead as well to a further "in-gathering of the exiles" at some time in the near future.

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Research in Action provides an introduction to the work of the NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education. The only organization of its kind in Israel, the NCJW Research Institute is dedicated exclusively to dealing with the problems of educating the culturally disadvantaged. **Research in Action** describes six selected projects affecting different age groups in various settings such as the family or school, where education in its broadest definition occurs. Diverse methodological strategies including interviewing, observation and testing have been used in an effort to evaluate practice in the field and develop theoretical positions which can inform and shape policy recommendations. Indeed, several of the projects beginning as small experimental intervention studies have evolved into successful nationwide programs under the sponsorship of the Ministry of Education. **Research in Action** is designed to inform the public about the activities of the NCJW Research Institute and to encourage further thought, exchange of ideas and cooperation among those who care about solving the dilemma of disadvantaged people throughout the world.